DOCUMENT RESUME

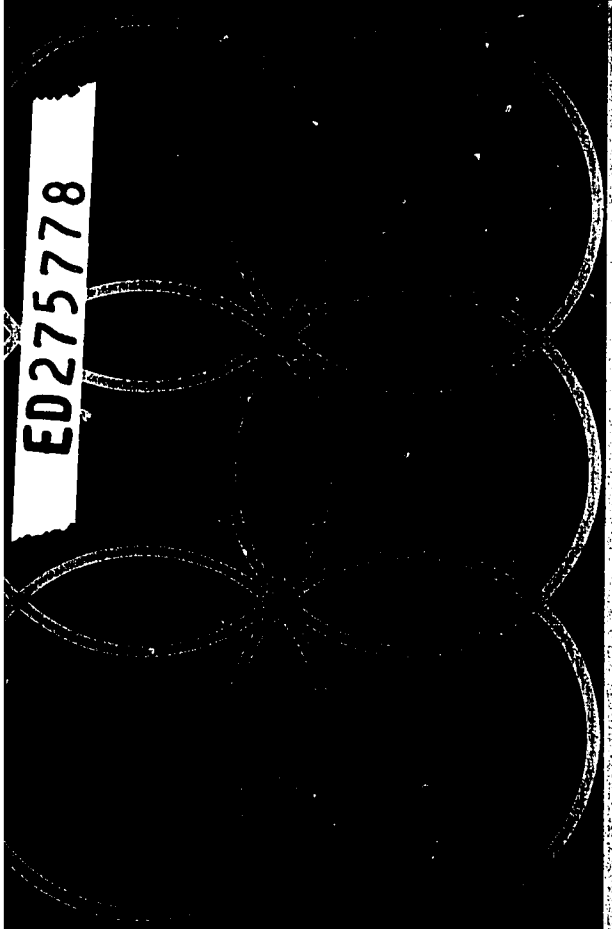
ED 275 778 UD 025 189

AUTHOR Riccio, James A.; Council, Delia L.
TITLE Strengthening Services for Teen Mothers. The Teen Parent Collaboration.
INSTITUTION Manpower Demonstration Research Corp., New York, N.Y.
SPONS AGENCY Ford Foundation, New York, N.Y.
PUB DATE Sep 85
NOTE 165p.; For related documents, see UD 025 187-190.
AVAILABLE FROM Manpower Demonstration Research Corp., Three Park Avenue, New York, NY 10016 ($12.00).
PUB TYPE Reports - Evaluative/Feasibility (142)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC07 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Adolescents; *Community Services; *Early Parenthood; Financial Support; High Schools; Job Training; *Pregnancy; *Program Effectiveness; Social Services; *Social Support Groups; Voluntary Agencies
IDENTIFIERS *Project Redirection

ABSTRACT

This report examines the service delivery and institutionalization of experiences of seven programs in various cities using the Project Redirection model, which helps pregnant and parenting adolescents progress toward eventual self-sufficiency by linking them with community agencies and volunteers. This evaluation focuses on innovations in service delivery and the operation of sites added after the program's original inception. Sites located in communities were better able to recruit and serve out-of-school teens than agencies located within schools. Both types of sites were able to recruit a sufficient number of community women to match to the teens. Teens at the newer sites participated in program activities more frequently than those at the original sites, but the amount of time they spent in the program was shorter. Employment-related services were diversified and enriched in the second demonstration. Some sites had difficulty convincing potential funders that Redirection's activities and the funding agencies' goals were sufficiently close to merit support, but the collaboration of the program sites with the community foundations proved to be a productive strategy in advancing toward the goal of more permanent funding. It was concluded that key elements of Project Redirection can be adapted to existing school-based programs and can be offered in rural as well as urban communities. (KH)





# Strengthening Services for Teen Mothers

MANPOWER DEMONSTRATION RESEARCH CORPORATION

# THE TEEN PARENT COLLABORATION: STRENGTHENING SERVICES TO TEEN MOTHERS

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with

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Manpower Demonstration
Research Corporation

September 1985

This report evaluates the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation's Replication of Project Redirection in the Teen Parent Collaboration. Funding for this project was provided by The Ford Foundation, The Florence V. Burden Foundation, the Metropolitan Life Foundation and the Office of Adolescent Pregnancy Programs of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. Funds from the Office of Adolescent Pregnancy Programs were used to provide "care services" -- specific activities included (1) the purchase of employment-related services at each site; (2) the development of employment system linkages; and (3) the development of an employability curriculum. The findings and conclusions stated in this report do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the funders.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The authors wish to thank the many people involved with Project Redirection who contributed to this study. We are particularly grateful to the teens and community women who agreed to be interviewed and who openly shared their experiences. Appreciation is also extended to the staffs of the program sites and the community foundations for providing the data and perspectives that constitute the basis of this report and for their review of an earlier draft. Prudence Brown of The Ford Foundation receives special mention for her overall guidance and helpful suggestions throughout the demonstration.

Within MDRC, James Healy, Kay Sherwood, John Morgan and Marilyn Price of the Operations staff, as well as consultant Joanna Gould-Stuart, conducted interviews at the program sites and helped assess operations. Karen Paget, Shirley James and Anita Kraus of the Management Information System prepared the data for analysis, and Della Sue was in charge of computer programming. Statistical tables were prepared by Eva Iacono and Hilary Kopp. Edward Markham of the Fiscal staff was helpful in reviewing and organizing the study's cost data.

Robert Penn, Senior Vice-President, was responsible for the overall management of the demonstration, and he -- with Barbara Blum, President, and Judith Gueron, Executive Vice-President -- provided thoughtful guidance throughout the research. The report also benefited from the suggestions of Janet Quint and Patricia Auspos of the Research staff and the editing assistance of Sheila Mandel, Susan Blank and Sarah Lum.

Gratitude is extended to Gilbert Steiner and other members of MDRC's Teen Parent Committee for their ongoing assistance and review of reports related to Project Redirection.

The Authors

## PREFACE

The publication of this report marks the last stage of MDRC's five-year investigation into the potential of Project Redirection, a program for low-income pregnant and parenting teenagers. Redirection's purpose was an ambitious one -- to help participants take advantage of a wide range of services, not just to meet their immediate needs, but to improve their schooling records, their health and that of their children, their employment prospects and to reduce future unplanned pregnancies.

Redirection was first operated by four community-based agencies. As they began to enroll teens, MDRC undertook a thorough three-part study of the program's feasibility, costs and effectiveness. Early results were encouraging, and in 1982, when The Ford Foundation expressed interest in joining with a consortium of community foundations to support research into teen pregnancy initiatives, a second round of Redirection sites was planned. The newer sites, seven in number, are the subject of this report.

Research on the second group of sites asked questions to probe further into the program's operational possibilities: Could Redirection be adapted to new settings, especially schools? Could it improve the delivery of services, particularly in the areas of employment and family planning? Could the sites build a stable funding base for the future?

The question of improved service delivery took on added interest as the evaluation progressed, particularly since impact results from the first demonstration suggested that the Redirection intervention should be strengthened. Unlike the first demonstration, the second was not

structured to report on whether the sites had improved the outcomes for participants over those for a matched comparison group. However, because it did analyze the patterns of service delivery, it offered a closer look -- and one informed by the history of the first program -- at how services might be improved for helping this population with so many disadvantages. Three key observations from the study are worth underscoring.

First, the innovation of offering the Redirection program through the schools worked well. As this report documents, service delivery in the school-based sites was generally steady and structured. Activities were convenient for participants and could be woven into the fabric of their school schedules and other commitments, supporting the theory that the schools are a logical institution in which to aggregate services for young people. However, it should be added that dropouts were the notable exception. Community agency sites were perhaps better positioned to offer these teens useful services.

A second important point concerns Redirection's employability services. While these activities were intrinsic to the program's design from the outset, the second round of sites expanded them based on indications that participants wanted to work and envisioned themselves as eventually supporting themselves and their children. Special funds from the federal Office of Adolescent Pregnancy Programs enabled the new sites to do this. This report shows that, with a relatively modest infusion of resources, it was possible to implement a wide range of employment preparation activities for teen mothers. The positive record of the second sites suggests that employability preparation should be pursued in future initiatives for this population.

A third insight concerns the success of the sites in leveraging community resources to sustain themselves once the demonstration drew to a close. Continuation of even these small-scale programs was a major undertaking and at least partially achieved, but as the report suggests, not without a considerable investment of time and energy on the part of program operators. Ultimately, if this society intends to make a full-scale commitment to increasing the self-sufficiency of teen parents and preventing early unwanted births, permanent public funding clearly dedicated to service programs for this population would offer planners and program operators a more stable base on which to build.

Thus, the kind of experimentation and growth in services to teen parents carried out by community-based organizations and schools in Project Redirection was an important first step. Perhaps it is now time to consider the advantages of a more permanent support system.

Barbara B. Blum
President

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In 1982, The Ford Foundation invited a number of community foundations and a small group of national foundations and public agencies to join it in developing a project to address an important social problem. The intention was to combine the strengths of both types of funders in order to stimulate knowledge development and the improvement of social services at the local level. Community foundations could bring to the effort an awareness of the needs and the resources in their own areas, while The Ford Foundation could support research and coordinate an exchange of ideas. Adolescent parenthood was one problem high on the list of concerns of all the organizations, and it was around this issue that the parties agreed to work together.

From their efforts emerged the "Teen Parent Collaboration," or two parallel research demonstrations. One was geared toward teen fathers, with the Bank Street College of Education providing technical assistance at the program level and conducting an evaluation; the other focused on young mothers, based on an existing model of comprehensive services known as Project Redirection, with operational assistance and evaluation by the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation (MDRC).

Project Redirection first began in 1980 as a national demonstration with sites in four cities, and it has been the subject of prior evaluation by MDRC. In the Teen Parent Collaboration, the opportunity existed to study the program model further. In this second demonstration, operated in seven cities from 1983 through mid-1985, Redirection was conducted in

different settings, with a model informed by lessons suggested in the earlier demonstration. One goal was thus to strengthen the program model and adapt it to new settings. Another was to ascertain if a stable funding base could be built for teen parent programs after the demonstration concluded. The success of the new sites in achieving these goals is the subject of this report.

For the second demonstration, seven community foundations and a state agency in Mississippi (covering an area where foundation monies were not available) joined The Ford Foundation in financing the seven new Redirection sites (Chart 1). (During its second year of operation, the Albuquerque site received funding from two additional foundations.) The community foundations and agency provided the bulk of the operating funds for the sites, while The Ford Foundation bore the cost of the research and technical assistance.

The demonstration also had special funds from the Office of Adolescent Pregnancy Programs (OAPP) of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services to allow the sites to enrich employment-related services for participating teens. These funds primarily supported the development of a special curriculum for preparing young mothers for the world of work and allowed MDRC to enrich and evaluate the delivery of employability services. Additional resources came from the Florence V. Burden and Metropolitan Life Foundations to develop a parenting education curriculum, drawing on the sites' experiences in this area.

CHART 1

ORGANIZATIONS PARTICIPATING IN THE SECOND
PROJECT REDIRECTION DEMONSTRATION

| Second Demonstration Sites | Program Sponsor | Community Foundation |
|---|---|---|
| St. Louis, Missouri | Parent Infant Interaction Program [PIIP] Vashon High School | The Danforth Foundation; The St. Louis Community Foundation |
| Brooklyn, New York | New York Urban League, High School Redirection | The New York Community Trust |
| El Paso, Texas | Schoolage Parent Center | El Paso Community Foundation |
| Albuquerque, New Mexico | New Futures School | The Levi Strauss Foundation (San Francisco)* |
| Atlanta, Georgia | Phyllis Wheatley YWCA | Metropolitan Atlanta Community Foundation, Inc. |
| Cleveland, Ohio | Cleveland YWCA | The Cleveland Foundation |
| Greenville, Mississippi | Mississippi Action for Community Education (MACE) | Governor's Office of Job Development and Training (state agency) |

* During its second year of operation, the Albuquerque site received additional funds from the March of Dimes and the Albuquerque Community Trust.

## The Project Redirection Approach

Project Redirection is a program intended to ameliorate many of the severe problems that typically accompany teenage childbearing among economically disadvantaged young women. It has been directed toward teenagers who are 17 years or younger, without a high school or General Equivalency (GED) diploma, and generally those either receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) or eligible to receive it.

The program's approach is comprehensive, seeking to enhance the teens' education, job-related, parenting and life-management skills, while at the same time encouraging these young people to delay further childbearing until they are more self-sufficient. Its strategy is to link participants with existing community services -- supplementing these with workshops, peer group sessions and individual counseling provided in the program settings. Redirection teens, in return, agree to an Individual Participant Plan (IPP), a mechanism that specifies short- and long-term objectives and identifies the appropriate services and activities to help them attain these goals. The program also pairs teens with adult "community women," volunteers from the area who provide ongoing support, guidance and friendship within and outside the formal program structure.

Research on the original Project Redirection sites found that the program model was a feasible one to operate. Moreover, it had significant short-term effects on teens' repeat pregnancy rates and on their educational and employment-related behaviors in comparison to those of a similar group of teens who had received an array of alternative services. However, many of these positive effects were not sustained after the teens left the

program. Several factors may have contributed to this longer-term outcome: weaknesses in program implementation, including an insufficient emphasis on family planning, and difficulties in providing appropriate educational services to a group of teens, half of whom were school dropouts and already alienated from the school system.

The second demonstration has provided an opportunity to study the program model operated under somewhat different circumstances. In contrast to the original demonstration, sponsors of the seven new sites were more diverse and included four school-based teen parent programs. In these settings, several features of the Project Redirection model -- usually the community woman component, the Individual Participant Plan and extra employability services -- were grafted onto existing program structures. In the other three sites, operated by community agencies, Project Redirection was instituted as an entirely new and distinct program, as it was in the first demonstration. Two were operated by urban YWCAs, and one by a nonprofit community development organization in a rural area.

Several other conditions were different in the second demonstration. The new sites had a smaller staff complement, served fewer teens, and eliminated monetary stipends for teens in all sites but one. Mandatory criteria governing the teens' departure from the program (i.e., reaching age 19, an enrollment period of 18 months, or completing high school or a GED) were also discontinued.

MDRC encouraged the new sites to strengthen service delivery in several areas. For one, they were to help teens improve their family planning practices. This responsibility was particularly challenging in the

first demonstration, where a high rate of repeat pregnancies had occurred. The new sites were also expected to strengthen the school component and to provide more structured and intensive employability services, using the extra resources and assistance made possible by OAPP funds.

In light of these conditions, the research on the second Project Redirection demonstration focused on several key issues:

1. Was the program feasible to operate in a school-based or rural setting, and how did the school-based sites differ from those operated by community agencies?

2. Was the delivery of comprehensive services strengthened by the variations in the program's components and methods of operation?

3. In what ways did the sites attempt to enrich the program's employability component, and did these efforts improve the delivery of employment-related services?

4. What factors have influenced the sites' prospects of securing long-term and stable funding to allow them to continue serving this population?

General Lessons

It is clear from the second demonstration that the key elements of Project Redirection can be adapted to existing school-based programs, and the program can also be offered in rural as well as urban communities. All of the newer sites were able to recruit teens and community women and deliver the promised comprehensive services. Moreover, compared to the first demonstration, they were able to increase the intensity of service delivery in several areas, although not the length of time that the teens and community women remained in the program. And, understandably, while none of the sites had fully achieved the goal of long-term, stable funding by the end of the demonstration, most had made substantial progress. Their

prospects for more permanent support seemed promising.

Taking all of the seven sites into account, the average cost per participant is estimated to range from $1,000 to $2,000, while the cost per service year is between $2,000 and $3,000. Per participant costs were lower because teens generally remained in the program for less than one year.

More detailed findings are presented below.

Recruitment and Retention of Teens and Community Women

- As in the first demonstration, the newer sites recruited a disadvantaged group of teens.

Most Redirection participants were between 15 and 17 years of age. They came from minority ethnic groups and lived in single-parent households that were either welfare-dependent or working poor. Housing problems, family conflict, physical abuse and other problems were common. Fewer teens in the second demonstration were out of school at enrollment (22 percent compared to 45 percent in the original sites), although many of those in school were poor students and at risk of dropping out.

The newer sites were also able to recruit teens without the inducement of a financial stipend. Teens were largely attracted to Project Redirection by the program's offer of social support, particularly that offered by the community women.

- Community agency sites were better able to recruit and serve out-of-school teens, who tend to be a more difficult group to reach than those attending school.

Recruitment was easier in the school-based sites, where the staff had ready access to eligible teens. However, the community agency sites were more successful in attracting dropouts. Only 10 percent of the teens in

the school-based sites were dropouts when they enrolled in Project Redirection compared to 37 percent in the community agency sites.

- Both types of sites were able to recruit a sufficient number of community women to match to the teens. Sixty-four percent of these volunteers were working women, and over 40 percent had obtained a bachelor's degree or higher. Only 7 percent reported that they were receiving welfare.

Compared to the community women in the first demonstration, those in the second were considerably better educated, more likely to be working and less likely to be on welfare. In the original sites, 71 percent were not employed and 27 percent were on welfare. Only 15 percent of the community women in the first demonstration had a bachelor's degree or higher.

- Although a stipend was paid to community women to help defray their transportation and other costs of volunteering, its availability was not an important factor in recruiting the women.

Among a small sample of community women interviewed for this study, all but one said that the stipend had made no difference in their decision to volunteer. Many were unaware of it when they joined the program. A few mentioned, however, that the lack of such funds would have curtailed some of their activities with the teens, such as taking them out to lunch or the movies.

- The community women in the second demonstration remained in the program for 13 months on average. Over half (56 percent) remained for longer than one year.

In the first demonstration, the average length of stay was 14 months, and 41 percent of community women remained for over one year. The results thus show that in both demonstrations Project Redirection was successful in sustaining the participation of volunteers for a considerable length of time.

- Teens' length of stay in the newer sites averaged eight months -- somewhat shorter than that found for the teens in the original sites.

About 30 percent of participants in the second demonstration left the program within three months, while 26 percent remained for over one year. This is close to the teens' patterns in the original sites, where some 20 percent dropped out within three months, but the same proportion (26 percent) stayed more than one year. Differences in teens' background characteristics at enrollment did not clarify the reasons for this finding.

Strengthening Service Delivery

- The newer sites, compared to the original sites, increased the average number of times that teens took part in program activities.

Teens in the second demonstration participated in considerably more family planning and life management sessions. Most of the increase was due to the more frequent scheduling of these activities in the school-based sites, where the services were usually offered in regular classes taking place during school hours. However, further analysis, taking into account the differences in teens' background characteristics, found that participants in the second demonstration, compared to those in the first, spent on average the same number of days in school and hours in employment-related activities, despite a shorter length of stay in the program.

- The newer sites placed a greater emphasis on family planning.

The family planning component was strengthened in the second demonstration by providing more workshops (especially in the school-based sites) and by monitoring the teens' behavior more carefully. Both staff and community women paid particular attention to this task. While teens'

sexual behavior and contraceptive practices were topics approached hesitantly in the first demonstration (at least in its earlier stages), staff in the newer sites appear to have been more forthright in their instruction from the start of the second program.

- Employment-related services were diversified and enriched in the second demonstration.

With the assistance of the special OAPP funds, the newer sites were able to provide a broad array of employment-related activities. Employability classes were also more organized and structured. The sites helped to field test a newly prepared curriculum, known as the Training for Transition guide, which was developed especially for this project.

Longer-Term Funding

By the demonstration's end, the sites' prospects for more permanent funding were promising, with most sites anticipating a mixture of both public and private support. Three sites had made significant progress in securing public funds. In one case, state human services monies were allocated to the project; in another, school department funds; and in the third, JTPA monies. These resources are important, because government support is often critical in shaping the future scope and life of a project. In the other sites, only limited progress had been made in securing stable public funding.

The sites' experiences suggest a number of insights about the potential obstacles that teen parent programs may face in seeking more permanent support and some strategies the sites used to overcome them. A few are highlighted below.

- Some potentially appropriate funders are hesitant about supporting teen parent projects, and this factor was evident in some sites.

Adolescent sexuality is a sensitive issue. In some quarters, efforts to encourage teens to practice contraception, and even special support services for teen parents, are viewed as condoning their sexual activity. Some Project Redirection sites encountered this concern in their own communities, although the objections were not pervasive enough to undermine the programs. The sites were able to build support by highlighting the negative social and economic consequences that typically accompany teen pregnancy and the importance of addressing those problems with a variety of services.

- Some sites had difficulty convincing potential funders that Redirection's activities and the funding agencies' goals were sufficiently close to merit support.

Potentially, comprehensive teen parent programs can serve the interests of a variety of funding agencies that may have widely divergent objectives. Yet, even where a congruence of interests exists at some level, it may not be obvious or strong enough from a funding agency's perspective to win support, particularly when the agency has had little prior involvement with teen parent programs. The challenge faced by some sites was to show such funders how to view their own goals in broader terms and not let specific differences obscure the ways in which Redirection activities were consistent with the funders' aims.

- The collaboration of the program sites with the community foundations proved to be a productive strategy in advancing toward the goal of more permanent funding.

Representatives from the community foundations and the government agency in Mississippi assisted program staff in pursuing more permanent

post-demonstration funding from other sources. In some instances, this was limited to advice and guidance on how to proceed; in others, the organization took a direct advocacy role. Generally, the affiliation with community foundations helped to increase the project's visibility and credibility in the local communities.

In several sites, the community foundations also provided short-term "bridge funding" to support program operations after the demonstration ended so that promising initiatives to secure longer-term funding could be completed. Without such assistance, several sites would have been forced to scale back their programs rather severely while alternative funding was sought.

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

Project Redirection is a program designed to help pregnant and parenting adolescents progress toward eventual self-sufficiency. It began in 1980 as a national research demonstration and has been extensively evaluated by the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation (MDRC).

Project Redirection has a two-stage demonstration history. During the first demonstration, the program operated from 1980 through 1982 in four cities (sometimes called sites): New York, Boston, Phoenix, and Riverside, California. MDRC, an organization that designs and evaluates innovative social programs, assisted these sites in implementing the program model and monitored their operations. It also had overall responsibility for a comprehensive research design that examined the program's operational strengths and weaknesses, the background and current life circumstances of participants, and the program's effects on enrollees' behavior over time as compared to a group of similar teens not taking part in the program.

The second demonstration, operating from 1983 through 1985, involved seven Redirection programs in different communities. These newer sites attempted to adapt the central features of Project Redirection to other organizational settings, to improve the service delivery strategies used in the four original sites, and to build a stable funding base in order to continue beyond the demonstration period. Their success in achieving these goals is the subject of this report.

## I. The Problem of Teenage Pregnancy

Over one million American teenagers become pregnant each year. In 1980, 468,628 pregnancies occurred to women 17 years of age or younger, and 45 percent resulted in live births. Almost two-thirds of these births were to unmarried teens (Alan Guttmacher Institute, 1984).

According to a recent six-country study by the Alan Guttmacher Institute, American teenagers have considerably higher rates of pregnancy, childbirth and abortion than adolescents in other industrialized countries. In the United States, the study found that the pregnancy rate of teens 15- to 19-years-old was 96 per 1,000. This greatly exceeds the pregnancy rate found in the next highest ranking area covered by the study, 45 per 1,000 for the 15- to 19-year-old group in England and Wales (Jones et al. 1985).

The pregnancy rate of American teenagers has continued to grow in recent years, although the wider use of abortion services appears to have caused the birthrate to decline. Among unmarried teens, however, the birthrate increased notably during the 1970s, mostly among whites. Nevertheless, the out-of-wedlock birthrate for blacks remained higher than the rate for whites, despite a recent slight decrease. In 1978, the number of unmarried black teenagers aged 15 to 17 giving birth was estimated to be over 70 per 1,000 youths (for a 7 percent rate) compared to over 10 per 1,000 white youths (or a 1 percent rate). (See Alan Guttmacher Institute, 1981.)

The consequences of adolescent pregnancy and childbearing are well-documented. For one, studies point out that pregnancy poses greater health risks to teenagers than to women in their twenties, and increases the risks of stillbirth, premature delivery, low birthweight and other complications for their offspring (Menken, 1984).

Second, studies show that teenage childbearing increases the probability that an adolescent will drop out of school and also reduces her overall level of educational attainment. Moreover, teen mothers tend to have more offspring over time than mothers who give birth for the first time at a later age. Both of these factors are obstacles to future labor market success. Compared to women who delay childbearing, teenage mothers hold lower-paying jobs that result in smaller annual earnings (Moore et al., 1979).

Adolescent parents also contribute to the welfare burden of society through their higher-than-average use of public assistance, particularly Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), Food Stamps and Medicaid.[1] A recent study projects that a non-white high school dropout who starts receiving welfare as a single mother will average about 10 years in her spell of AFDC dependency (Bane and Ellwood, 1983).

## II. The Project Redirection Approach

### A. The Model

Project Redirection is a program intended to ameliorate many of the severe problems that typically accompany teenage childbearing among adolescents from economically disadvantaged families. The program has been directed toward young teenagers -- those who are 17 years or younger, without a high school or General Equivalency (GED) diploma, and generally those whose families either receive AFDC welfare or are eligible to receive it.

The program's approach is comprehensive, seeking to enhance the teens' educational levels, their exposure to the work world, and their parenting and life management skills; at the same time, it seeks to encourage these

young mothers to delay further childbearing until they become self-sufficient. Redirection's strategy is to link participants with existing services in the community, enriching these with on-site workshops, peer group sessions and individual counseling. The program also plans and schedules services according to the needs of each teen, using an Individual Participant Plan (IPP) as a monitoring tool for both short- and long-term objectives. As another important support, Redirection pairs teens with adult "community women," who volunteer to provide ongoing guidance and friendship outside and within the formal program structure.

Chart 1.1 summarizes the Redirection program model.

B. The First Demonstration

The local sites brought geographic and ethnic diversity to the first demonstration, in which the program was managed by community organizations experienced in working with disadvantaged youths. One was located in a Puerto Rican community in Boston, another in a black neighborhood in New York City (Harlem), a third in a Mexican-American part of Phoenix, and a fourth in the racially mixed community of Riverside, California. Two of the sites -- New York and Phoenix -- had the ability to serve as many as 100 teens at a time, while the other sites had a smaller capacity of 50 teens each. From mid-1980 through December 1982, a total of 805 teens participated in Redirection services at these sites.

The demonstration was funded at the national level by The Ford Foundation, the National Office of the Work Incentive Program (WIN) and the Offices of Youth Programs and of Policy Evaluation in the U.S. Department of Labor. The William T. Grant Foundation supported a special study of the community women and their role in assisting program staff and the teens.

CHART 1.1

PROJECT REDIRECTION PROGRAM FEATURES

| | |
|---|---|
| ›jectives | • Continuation of education<br>• Delay of subsequent pregnancies<br>• Acquisition of employability and job skills<br>• Improved maternal and infant health<br>• Acquisition of life management skills (e.g., family planning, parenting skills and nutrition education) |
| .igible Target ›pulation | Adolescent girls:<br>• Age 17 and under<br>• Pregnant for the first time, or mothers of young children<br>• Receiving welfare, either as head of a case or a member of a welfare household (or one with a current annual income within 70 percent of the lower living standard.)<br>• Without a high school or General Equivalency diploma. |
| ›rvice Delivery ›atures | • Individual Participant Plan (IPP)<br>• Community woman component<br>• Peer group sessions |

At the local level, the organizations running the programs secured matching funds from community sources, both governmental and private, for operating their projects.

C. Earlier Research Findings

The research on the four original sites had three major studies:

- an impact analysis that measured the effects of Project Redirection on teens' contraceptive, childbearing, educational and employment behavior at 12 and 24 months after enrollment;
- an implementation analysis examining the Project Redirection treatment and assessing the feasibility and cost of the program; and
- an ethnographic analysis which, using field work techniques, described how the backgrounds, attitudes and current life situations of a small group of program participants influenced the behavior the program sought to change.

The implementation research showed that the program model was a feasible one to operate. Teens and community women were willing to join the program and, for the most part, they formed close personal relationships. Program staff were able to provide teens with the promised comprehensive services, although the "brokerage" approach made it often difficult to assure the high quality and appropriate content of workshops and other services.

The impact research was conducted by Humanalysis, Inc. and the American Institutes for Research in the Behavioral Sciences under the supervision of MDRC. The final analysis found that participating teens attained better educational and employment-related outcomes and a lower rate of subsequent pregnancy (relative to comparison teens) while they were still in the Redirection program. This advantage, however, was not sustained over the longer term, although the program did produce some

lasting benefits for certain subgroups. The test was thus a conservative one. Because many teens in the comparison group had been served by other programs, it was not possible to assess Project Redirection's effects on teens compared to their experiences in the absence of any or only minimal services, as program planners had intended.[2]

## III. Origins of the Second Demonstration and Key Research Issues

### A. Planning for the New Collaboration

In 1982, The Ford Foundation invited community foundations and a small group of national foundations[3] and public agencies to consider joining it in a collaboration to select and study an important social problem. Adolescent parenthood was one such problem high on the list of concerns of both The Ford and the community foundations, and they agreed to work together around this issue.

From these efforts emerged the "Teen Parent Collaboration," which was actually two parallel research demonstrations. One was geared toward teen fathers, with the Bank Street College of Education providing technical assistance at the local program level and conducting an evaluation; the other focused on young pregnant teens or mothers, using features of the Redirection model, with assistance and evaluation by MDRC. The decision to replicate the Redirection approach was based on the early findings from the first demonstration and an interest in studying the operational experiences of the model in different organizational settings.

For the Teen Parent Collaboration, community foundations and agencies provided the bulk of the operating monies for the sites, while The Ford Foundation bore the cost of the research and technical assistance. Ford

also provided supplemental funds to the sites largely to support the data collection required for evaluation purposes.

From the perspective of both The Ford Foundation and the community foundations, the collaborative approach was viewed as combining the strengths of both types of funders. As a national foundation, Ford has the resources to support research and knowledge development affecting broad segments of the population, but has little direct contact at the local level. Community foundations have better insight into the needs and resources of their own areas and more involvement in local affairs, but are typically unable to sponsor national research projects. Through a collaborative approach, Ford would bring its knowledge to bear on local issues, while community foundations would be able to address important problems on a larger scale. Moreover, their affiliation with The Ford Foundation could enhance their ability to raise additional funds for projects within their communities.

For the teen mother demonstration, seven community foundations and a state agency joined Ford in financing the seven sites that adopted various features of the Redirection model. (Two additional foundations provided funds to the Albuquerque site during its second year of operation.) These sites and the foundations supporting their operations are listed in Chart 1.2, and are more fully described throughout this report.

B. Second Demonstration Model and Research Issues

The second demonstration not only tested the ability of a group of community foundations to work together with a national foundation, it was also an opportunity for MDRC and The Ford Foundation to study the operation of the Redirection model under an alternative set of circumstances. In

CHART 1.2

ORGANIZATIONS PARTICIPATING IN PROJECT REDIRECTION

| First Demonstration Sites | Program Sponsor |
|---|---|
| New York, New York | Harlem YMCA |
| Boston, Massachusetts | El Centro Del Cardinal |
| Phoenix, Arizona | Chicanos Por la Causa |
| Riverside, California | Children's Home Society |

| Second Demonstration Sites | Program Sponsor | Community Foundation |
|---|---|---|
| St. Louis, Missouri | Parent Infant Interaction Program [PIIP] Vashon High School | The Danforth Foundation; The St. Louis Community Foundation |
| Brooklyn, New York | New York Urban League, High School Redirection | The New York Community Trust |
| El Paso, Texas | Schoolage Parent Center | El Paso Community Foundation |
| Albuquerque, New Mexico | New Futures School | The Levi Strauss Foundation (San Francisco)* |
| Atlanta, Georgia | Phyllis Wheatley YWCA | Metropolitan Atlanta Community Foundation, Inc. |
| Cleveland, Ohio | Cleveland YWCA | The Cleveland Foundation |
| Greenville, Mississippi | Mississippi Action for Community Education (MACE) | Governor's Office of Job Development and Training (state agency) |

* During its second year of operation, the Albuquerque site received additional funds from the March of Dimes and the Albuquerque Community Trust.

contrast to the original demonstration, program sponsors for the seven newer sites were diverse, including four teen parent programs already operating within schools. In these settings, several elements of the Project Redirection model -- usually the community woman component, the IPP and the employability services -- were grafted onto existing program structures. Two other sites, more closely resembling the sites in the first demonstration, were located in urban YWCAs. The third was run by a nonprofit community development organization in a rural area, the first to be so situated. In these three community agency sites, Project Redirection was an entirely new and distinct program, as it was in the first demonstration.

Certain other changes were also specified in the program guidelines:

- The size of the program was reduced, both in terms of the number of staff directly assigned to a project and the number of teens served at a given time;
- Stipends for teens were eliminated in all but one site;
- Mandatory criteria governing teens' program departure were also discontinued (e.g., originally teens were required to leave the program when they reached age 19, had been in the program for 18 months, or had obtained a diploma).

The second demonstration also was granted special funds from the Office of Adolescent Pregnancy Programs (OAPP) of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services to integrate an enriched employability services component into the program. In the original demonstration, this service area had been slow to develop, mostly because staff gave priority to other, more pressing needs of the teens. With support from OAPP, however, the new sites had a chance from the beginning of the demonstration to develop a structured and intensive strategy for preparing teens for work.

In light of these and other differences, the research for this demonstration focuses on several issues, briefly discussed below:

1. Was it feasible for components of Project Redirection to be grafted onto existing teen parent programs operated in the schools? Was Redirection feasible to operate in a rural area? What were the implications of doing so?

With the addition of school-based programs and a rural site, it is possible to assess the potential for adapting the Redirection approach to a wider variety of circumstances than was encompassed in the first demonstration. The advantages and disadvantages of the different types of settings will be examined.

2. Was the implementation of Project Redirection strengthened by the changes sites made in the delivery of program services?

Earlier research findings suggest that some outcomes of the original demonstration -- for example, participants' rates of subsequent pregnancy and educational attainment -- might have been better had the Redirection intervention been stronger. While the effectiveness of services in the new sites is not being studied experimentally -- that is, by comparing outcomes of participants to those of a comparison group -- these sites offer an opportunity to learn how services might be improved in future teen parent programs.

3. In what ways did the sites attempt to enrich the program's employability component, and did these efforts result in better delivery of employment-related services?

Using the additional OAPP resources, the sites set out to enhance the delivery of employment-related services. This report will describe this experience and compare the intensity of teens' service receipt to the level achieved in the first demonstration.

4. What factors have influenced the prospects of these sites to

secure long-term and stable funding to allow them to continue serving pregnant and parenting teens with the service structure developed during this demonstration?

The second demonstration began with the goal that, if run well, components of the program would be supported through regular local funding mechanisms after the demonstration ended. This report will explore the conditions that have enhanced or impeded achievement of this goal. In particular, the collaboration of program operators and community foundations offers an opportunity to assess the value of a cooperative strategy for influencing social services at the local level.

## IV. Site Profiles

The next sections describe the sites and the key features of the program model in the second demonstration.

### A. School-Based Programs

Of all sites in the second demonstration, the four school-based programs differ most from the sites in the first demonstration. In each case, many of the services mandated by the Redirection model were already available through the school program. Several Redirection features were added to strengthen and supplement the core services.

#### 1. St. Louis: The Parent Infant Interaction Program

Project Redirection in St. Louis is operated as part of the Parent Infant Interaction Program (PIIP) at Vashon High School, a regular public high school located in a low-income black community. Vashon is one of three "non-integrated" schools in St. Louis, as designated in a metropolitan desegregation plan in effect since 1983.

Pregnant and parenting teens enrolled in PIIP take part in either a

series of after-school support groups that discuss pre- and postnatal health care and other life management issues, or a life management class held during regular school hours. In each case, the activities are led by a PIIP counselor, with school credit awarded for the regular class but not the workshops, which are more informal in nature. Program participants also meet at the beginning of the school day in a separate "advisory" or homeroom session, during which special concerns raised by pregnancy or new motherhood are discussed.

PIIP operates an infant care center known as "The Crib" that offers child care for infants under two years of age so that their mothers can be in school. The center also serves as a "laboratory" setting in which other teens learn appropriate child-rearing techniques.

As integrated into PIIP, Project Redirection offers community women support for teens who the staff believe will benefit from additional guidance through this relationship. The 30 or more PIIP teens enrolled in Project Redirection must take part in the life management class during regular school hours and are scheduled for other services according to the Individual Participant Plan.

PIIP is staffed by a project director, a family life counselor, a Project Redirection coordinator and a Crib parenting instructor. The program occupies several interconnecting offices and classrooms within the school.

2. Brooklyn: High School Redirection

Project Redirection in Brooklyn is housed in High School Redirection, an alternative school operated by the New York City Board of Education for students with serious academic or personal difficulties.

Located in a low-income black community, the school has an enrollment of about 500 students and offers a curriculum leading to a high school diploma. It, too, has a day-care center on-site for students and teachers that serves as a parenting lab. Project Redirection, with a slot capacity of about 20 teens, occupies office space adjacent to the school's administrative offices. Its staff consists of a director and one administrative assistant, both of whom were originally supervised by the counseling department.

All Project Redirection participants, in addition to being assigned to community women, are required to attend a parenting class run for all of the students. Program services also include employability workshops led by a high school job counselor, health information provided on-site by local health-care workers, and family planning sessions conducted by representatives from local hospitals and clinics. The school's counseling staff provides individual counseling, which is supplemented by informal counseling by project staff.

For the demonstration, Project Redirection operated under a special arrangement in which MDRC served as the administrator of funds granted to the site by the New York Community Trust. In January 1985, the New York Urban League assumed operational control of the program (in addition to the sponsorship of the Harlem program, one of the four original Project Redirection sites), although the location within High School Redirection remained the same. This change was prompted by management difficulties at both sites and a desire to better coordinate the activities of the two sites for the teen population they served.

3. El Paso: The Schoolage Parent Center

In El Paso, Project Redirection is part of the Schoolage Parent Center, an alternative public school established in 1975 primarily to deter pregnant teenagers from dropping out of school. The center enrolls approximately 100 teens at a time and serves about 200 per year. Reflecting the ethnic composition of the area, about 70 percent are Mexican-American, 25 percent white and 5 percent black. The Redirection program within this center began by enrolling 30 teens but soon increased its capacity. By the end of the demonstration period, the program was serving around 50 participants.

The center is located in a structure that houses classrooms, a nursery, and administrative offices that are also used by the school district for other purposes. In addition to an academic curriculum covering grades six through twelve, the center offers its students day care, instruction in nutrition, prenatal care, health and family planning. It also provides career guidance and some vocational training, particularly in secretarial skills. Students may enroll upon becoming pregnant, but can remain only through the end of the semester in which they deliver, for a maximum of one academic year.

As in St. Louis, the students targeted for Project Redirection are those whom the staff believe are in need of extra support services. In addition to their regular schedule of school-sponsored activities, Redirection enrollees are assigned a community woman and attend monthly after-school peer support meetings and special employability workshops. After moving back to their neighborhood schools, teens continue to interact with their community women and return to the Schoolage Center for peer support

meetings. The Redirection component is staffed by a program coordinator who arranges these additional activities.

4. Albuquerque: The New Futures School

The New Futures School is an alternative high school for pregnant girls and young parents that has operated as part of the Albuquerque public school system since 1970. The school provides a full range of services including academic and life management courses, child care, individual counseling, family planning, health care, and most recently, a series of employability courses and workshops.

The school is housed in a two-story building, with additional classroom and office space in several temporary structures. Its main focus -- the Perinatal Program -- is a short-term intervention for pregnant teens, who are expected to return to their regular schools the semester after they deliver. A second and smaller program -- the Young Parents Center -- is available for teens who have given birth and are unable or unwilling to return to their regular schools. Through this center, teens may prepare for their GED exam or pursue a curriculum leading to a high school diploma.

Project Redirection serves a total of 30 teens, enrolled in either program. Its main services are the community woman component and enriched employment-related activities. Community women are recruited and monitored by a full-time coordinator who, however, has little direct contact with the teens in the program. All counseling and other services are handled by the regular staff of the New Futures School.

B. Community Agencies

The nonprofit programs in the second demonstration are similar in structure to the sites in the first demonstration. In each case, the

sponsoring agency is a community organization, and the project staff have full responsibility for arranging the provision of services. However, one of these sites is distinguished from all others in the first and second demonstrations by the fact that it is located in a rural community.

1. Atlanta: The Phyllis Wheatley YWCA

Project Redirection in Atlanta is a program within the Phyllis Wheatley branch of the Greater Atlanta YWCA. This branch -- the oldest in the metropolitan area -- is located in the low-income black community surrounding the Morris Brown campus of Atlanta University, and has a history of working with disadvantaged teenagers, including adolescent parents. Currently, one of the branch's activities is a career awareness and guidance class taught in the local public schools, with a "try-out" employment component funded by the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA), the federal employment and training system for the disadvantaged.

Project Redirection occupies an office on the second floor of the building and makes use of other offices and meeting rooms as needed for program activities. The project is staffed by a director and a counselor, who are supervised by the YWCA branch director. In addition to overall program management, the Redirection director's main responsibility is the community woman component, while the counselor focuses on recruitment and services. Although originally hoping to attain a slot capacity of 50 teens, the program generally serves about 35 teens at any one time.

2. Cleveland: The Cleveland YWCA

This branch also had previous experience working with problems of teenage pregnancy. Prior to its involvement in Project Redirection, the Cleveland YWCA sponsored two other programs focused on adolescent sexual-

ity, both of which continue to operate. One is a pregnancy prevention effort in which teenagers are trained to help students in local schools learn to deal with human sexuality. A second and smaller program is focused on teaching parenting skills to teens who have already become parents.

During the first year of the new demonstration, Project Redirection was located in the low-income black community of Hough in leased office space apart from other YWCA facilities. During the second year, that building was sold, and Redirection moved to the YWCA headquarters near the downtown section of Cleveland. There, the project occupies several offices, one other room used for on-site workshops, and a kitchen. With a slot capacity of 35 teens, Project Redirection is operated by a director and a teen services coordinator. These staff members are supervised directly by the central administrative staff of the YWCA.

3. Greenville: Mississippi Action for Community Education, Inc.

Mississippi Action for Community Education, Inc. (MACE) is a nonprofit minority-run, rural development organization serving a poor (largely black) 14-county area in the Delta region of the Mississippi. Since its inception in 1967, MACE has generated a wide variety of initiatives, both economic and social services in nature, including a clothing factory, a restaurant, a radio station, nutrition and literacy programs, a low-income housing development and a bus system in Greenville.

Project Redirection is housed in MACE's Teen Parent Center, a building in the center of Greenville that was once a Shriner's temple. On the basement level are the Project Redirection offices, a classroom and a nursery. The first floor has a large hall for special functions and the

top floor, an auditorium. These two facilities are used for a variety of community activites.

The Redirection program -- with a capacity of 30 teens -- has a full staff complement: a project director, a certified teacher, a "family living" counselor, an employment specialist and a child-care worker. The program operates an on-site GED preparation program for out-of-school teens and, along with the community woman component, offers peer group sessions, employability skills, life management training and other services.

## V. Data Sources and Structure of the Report

Data for this study come from a variety of sources. Qualitative information was collected by MDRC researchers and field staff through on-site interviews with agency personnel, program staff, teen participants and community women. An interview guide with a standard set of open-ended questions was used in interviews with teens and community women, to which a total of 40 participants and 42 women responded. Although the respondents were not strictly representative of the two groups because the staff members scheduled the interviews, their comments provide useful insights into the Redirection experience.

Quantitative data on the background characteristics of teens and the community women, as well as on their activities during the demonstration period, were collected through a management information system designed for the original demonstration. This enabled researchers to make several important direct comparisons between data from the four original sites and the seven new projects.

The analysis begins with an examination in Chapter 2 of the recruit-

ment and characteristics of teens and community women, including an assessment of their relationship. The community women's tenure in the program is another important topic. Chapter 3 uses both quantitative and qualitative data to describe and evaluate service delivery in the areas of health, education, family planning and other life management activities. It also provides estimates of program costs. The delivery of employability services is the subject of Chapter 4, while Chapter 5 focuses on the question of "institutionalization," or the sites' prospects for longer, more stable funding for their programs in the future. Chapter 6 summarizes the findings of this report.

## CHAPTER 2

## TEENS AND COMMUNITY WOMEN

### I. Recruiting Teens

From the beginning of the second demonstration through April 1985 when data collection on participants ended, the Project Redirection sites collectively enrolled a total of 501 teens.[1] Almost half were referred to Redirection by schools, and one-quarter by friends who had already been in the program. (See Table 2.1.) Guidance counselors and, to a lesser extent, teachers and school nurses were the most common referral sources within schools.

In most of the school-based sites, the demonstration was viewed as a way of providing students with an extra measure of social support and guidance. Teens with particularly difficult home lives and personal situations, and those who were thought likely to drop out of school, were usually the ones served. In some instances, however, students with severe difficulties were found to be inappropriate for Redirection. Albuquerque, for example, learned that some teens involved with the juvenile justice system and others with psychological problems were "too tough" for volunteer community women to handle. As one school counselor noted:

> I refer the type of girl who has no strong support system, especially in the family. That's the major factor. But it is is also important to consider if another person can actually help. Some teens need highly skilled social workers. They could chew up a community woman.

The St. Louis program also experienced difficulties early in the demonstration when it stressed the recruitment of the "most extreme" cases. As

TABLE 2.1

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF TEEN REFERRAL SOURCES, BY SITE

| Source | School-Based Sites | | | | Community Agencies | | | All Sites |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | St. Louis | Brooklyn | El Paso | Albuquerque | Atlanta | Cleveland | Greenville | |
| Friends | 27.3 | 12.1 | 28.2 | 5.7 | 5.5 | 30.3 | 53.8 | 24.0 |
| School | 48.5 | 67.2 | 70.8 | 88.6 | 43.6 | 4.5 | 27.7 | 48.1 |
| Media | 4.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.4 | 0.0 | 1.1 | 4.6 | 1.8 |
| Community Organization | 2.0 | 8.6 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 5.5 | 3.4 | 4.6 | 3.2 |
| WIN/Welfare | 2.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 10.9 | 13.5 | 4.6 | 4.6 |
| Hospitals/Clinics | 8.1 | 1.7 | 0.0 | 1.4 | 30.9 | 6.7 | 0.0 | 6.6 |
| Walk-In | 2.0 | 8.6 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 2.2 | 1.5 | 2.0 |
| Staff or Community Women | 0.0 | 0.0 | 3.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 25.8 | 3.1 | 5.4 |
| Other | 6.1 | 1.7 | 0.0 | 2.8 | 3.6 | 12.4 | 0.0 | 4.4 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number of Enrollees | 99 | 58 | 65 | 70 | 55 | 89 | 65 | 501 |

SOURCE: MDRC calculations from Participant Enrollment Forms in the Project Redirection Information System.

NOTES: Sample includes all teens enrolled by April 30, 1985.

Distributions may not add exactly to 100.0 percent because of rounding.

the project director explained:

> We were sending all teens with overwhelming problems -- the crisis cases -- to Project Redirection rather than to the regular PIIP program. This was too burdensome. Project Redirection was too young for this.

In two of the community agency sites -- Atlanta and Greenville -- schools were also an important referral source -- although less so than in the school-based projects. While neither of these two sites had official linkages with the school system, their staffs had informal referral agreements with school personnel. In Atlanta, Redirection staff were allowed to go into the schools and recruit teens by talking to groups of students. In Greenville, school counselors supplied Redirection staff with the names of pregnant teens and new mothers whom the staff contacted by letter, inviting them to call or visit the project. Staff members usually telephoned or made a home visit to teens who did not respond to this invitation.

In contrast, the Cleveland project recruited only 5 percent of its teens from schools. Word-of-mouth referrals from friends and community women and direct contact by staff were more common sources. Frequently, project staff would approach pregnant teens and mothers they met on the street and invite them to join the program.

The importance of schools as referral sources for this demonstration constrasts with the recruitment pattern in the original sites, where only 15 percent of participants came to the programs from the schools (Branch et al., 1984). The first demonstration sites also differed in the proportion of teens they recruited from hospitals and clinics (21 percent); only 7 percent were drawn from those sources in the second demonstration, primarily in the Atlanta site.

## II. Characteristics of Participants

Table 2.2 presents selected demographic and other background characteristics of teens at the time they enrolled in Project Redirection. Again, these data cover teens enrolled through April 1985, the end of the data collection period, even though all of the sites continued operations beyond this point.

The average age of the teens across all sites, 16.7 years, varied by only a few months in the separate sites. There were, however, differences in the age range by site. For example, because most of the Greenville funding came from the JTPA system (which would not pay for services to young teens), that site enrolled no teens under the age of 16. And while the Redirection guidelines limited eligibility to teens under 17 years, MDRC granted waivers so that some sites could include older teens with special hardships.

Reflecting the ethnic composition of the local communities, three-quarters of the Redirection enrollees were black, 18 percent were Chicana, and 7 percent were white. Only in El Paso and Albuquerque were Chicanas the dominant ethnic group. These two sites also contained the highest proportion of married teens -- 20 and 17 percent, respectively -- in a demonstration where, across all sites, only 7 percent of the teens had ever been married. Consequently, most teens were living at home, where only the mother was usually present (73 percent); just 19 percent resided in two-parent households at enrollment. Fifty-six percent of the teens or their families were receiving AFDC.

More than three-quarters of enrollees (78 percent) were in school when they entered the program, reflecting the sponsorship of the four school-

SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF TEENS
AT TIME OF ENROLLMENT IN PROJECT REDIRECTION, BY SITE

| Characteristic | School-Based Sites | | | | Community Agencies | | | All Sites |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | St. Louis | Brooklyn | El Paso | Albuquerque | Atlanta | Cleveland | Greenville | |
| Age (%) | | | | | | | | |
| 12 Years Old | 0.0 | 0.0 | 3.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.4 |
| 13 Years Old | 0.0 | 0.0 | 4.6 | 1.4 | 1.9 | 3.4 | 0.0 | 1.6 |
| 14 Years Old | 1.0 | 1.7 | 10.8 | 7.1 | 9.1 | 8.0 | 0.0 | 5.4 |
| 15 Years Old | 12.0 | 12.1 | 15.4 | 22.9 | 30.9 | 20.2 | 0.0 | 15.9 |
| 16 Years Old | 29.0 | 46.6 | 38.5 | 31.4 | 29.6 | 29.2 | 47.7 | 34.5 |
| 17 Years Old | 50.0 | 37.9 | 27.7 | 20.0 | 29.1 | 36.0 | 49.1 | 35.9 |
| Over 17 Years Old | 8.0 | 1.7 | 0.0 | 17.1 | 5.5 | 2.2 | 3.2 | 6.4 |
| Mean Age (Years) | 17.0 | 16.8 | 16.1 | 16.7 | 16.4 | 16.5 | 17.1 | 16.7 |
| Ethnicity (%) | | | | | | | | |
| Black | 95.0 | 94.8 | 4.6 | 18.2 | 98.2 | 95.5 | 95.4 | 72.6 |
| Chicano | 0.0 | 0.0 | 81.5 | 52.9 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 17.6 |
| Puerto Rican | 0.0 | 5.2 | 0.0 | 1.5 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.8 |
| Other Hispanic | 1.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.5 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.4 |
| White | 4.0 | 0.0 | 13.8 | 20.6 | 1.8 | 4.5 | 4.6 | 7.0 |
| American Indian/Other | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 10.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.4 |
| Limited English (%) | 39.0 | 0.0 | 4.6 | 2.9 | 1.8 | 2.2 | 0.0 | 9.4 |
| Marital Status (%) | | | | | | | | |
| Never Married | 99.0 | 98.3 | 80.0 | 82.9 | 98.2 | 100.0 | 90.8 | 93.2 |
| Ever Married | 1.0 | 1.7 | 20.0 | 17.1 | 1.8 | 0.0 | 9.2 | 6.8 |
| Head of Household (%) | 3.0 | 1.7 | 0.0 | 10.0 | 1.8 | 9.1 | 4.6 | 4.6 |
| Mean Number in Household | 5.8 | 5.1 | 5.8 | 4.4 | 5.0 | 4.9 | 6.3 | 5.3 |
| Living in Two-Parent Household (%) | 20.0 | 15.5 | 36.9 | 21.4 | 14.5 | 10.2 | 12.3 | 18.8 |

(continued)

TABLE 2.2 (continued)

| Characteristic | School-Based Sites | | | | Community Agencies | | | All Sites |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | St. Louis | Brooklyn | El Paso | Albuquerque | Atlanta | Cleveland | Greenville | |
| Mother Present in Household (%) | 68.0 | 72.4 | 72.3 | 48.8 | 81.8 | 79.5 | 70.8 | 73.3 |
| Father Present in Household (%) | 21.0 | 15.5 | 43.1 | 28.8 | 18.2 | 14.8 | 13.8 | 22.0 |
| Pregnancy Status (%) | | | | | | | | |
| Pregnant With 1st Child | 28.0 | 29.8 | 50.8 | 35.7 | 30.8 | 38.8 | 30.8 | 34.8 |
| Pregnant Parent | 6.0 | 3.5 | 1.5 | 4.3 | 5.5 | 5.7 | 1.5 | 4.2 |
| Parent, Not Pregnant | 66.0 | 66.7 | 47.7 | 60.0 | 63.6 | 54.5 | 67.7 | 61.2 |
| Number of Children (%)[a] | | | | | | | | |
| 1 Child | 92.4 | 87.5 | 96.8 | 93.3 | 84.2 | 88.7 | 77.8 | 87.8 |
| 2 Children | 17.6 | 2.5 | 3.1 | 6.7 | 15.8 | 7.5 | 20.0 | 11.3 |
| 3 Children | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 3.8 | 2.2 | 0.8 |
| Receiving AFDC (%) | 77.0 | 66.0 | 16.8 | 25.7 | 58.2 | 78.4 | 53.8 | 58.3 |
| Not in School at Time of Enrollment (%) | 25.0 | 3.4 | 1.5 | 2.8 | 47.3 | 23.8 | 47.7 | 21.5 |
| Left School Prior to Pregnancy (%)[b] | 24.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 18.2 | 23.8 | 18.1 | 18.4 |
| Mean Number of Months Out of School[b] | 10.8 | 6.5 | 10.0 | 13.5 | 8.3 | 9.4 | 12.0 | 10.3 |
| Highest Grade Completed (%) | | | | | | | | |
| 8th Grade or Less | 18.2 | 29.1 | 41.5 | 42.8 | 27.8 | 28.0 | 44.7 | 31.8 |
| 9th | 28.8 | 35.7 | 26.2 | 31.4 | 29.5 | 18.1 | 28.2 | 28.8 |
| 10th | 34.8 | 22.4 | 26.2 | 17.1 | 25.8 | 34.8 | 23.1 | 27.2 |
| 11th | 20.2 | 8.8 | 6.2 | 8.8 | 18.7 | 18.0 | 3.1 | 12.4 |
| Mean Highest Grade Completed | 9.8 | 9.8 | 9.8 | 9.8 | 9.2 | 9.3 | 8.8 | 9.0 |

(continued)

TABLE E.2 (CONTINUED)

| Characteristic | School-Based Sites | | | | Community Agencies | | | All Sites |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | St. Louis | Brooklyn | El Paso | Albuquerque | Atlanta | Cleveland | Greenville | |
| Received Services Prior to Graduation (%) | | | | | | | | |
| Employment Services | 9.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 90.0 | 7.5 | 3.4 | 1.5 | 15.5 |
| Family Planning Services | 29.3 | 37.9 | 68.2 | 90.0 | 45.3 | 47.7 | 38.8 | 49.8 |
| Prenatal Care[a] | 78.1 | 94.7 | 91.2 | 92.9 | 95.0 | 70.0 | 85.2 | 86.1 |
| Pediatric Care[a] | 89.0 | 97.8 | 93.8 | 91.1 | 80.8 | 84.8 | 26.7 | 78.8 |
| Received Child Care Services (%)[d] | | | | | | | | |
| Licensed Day Care Center | 19.2 | 17.5 | 91.3 | 73.3 | 0.0 | 1.9 | 0.0 | 24.2 |
| Licensed Home Center | 1.4 | 0.0 | 6.3 | 2.2 | 2.6 | 3.8 | 0.0 | 2.1 |
| Relative-Out of Teen's Home | 9.5 | 22.5 | 6.3 | 4.4 | 15.8 | 17.0 | 24.4 | 14.1 |
| Relative-In Teen's Home | 44.8 | 42.5 | 3.1 | 15.6 | 60.5 | 52.8 | 71.1 | 43.1 |
| Other-In Home | 9.1 | 2.5 | 0.0 | 2.2 | 7.9 | 1.9 | 4.4 | 4.3 |
| Other - Out of Home | 21.8 | 17.5 | 0.0 | 2.2 | 5.3 | 20.8 | 2.2 | 11.8 |
| Any Child Care | 87.3 | 87.5 | 93.8 | 100.0 | 92.1 | 98.1 | 100.0 | 97.2 |
| Enrolled in Adolescent Parent Program (%) | | | | | | | | |
| Ever Enrolled | 18.0 | 17.2 | 96.9 | 100.0 | 56.4 | 20.5 | 0.0 | 41.9 |
| Never Enrolled | 82.0 | 82.8 | 3.1 | 0.0 | 43.6 | 79.5 | 100.0 | 58.1 |
| Number of Enrollees | 100 | 58 | 65 | 70 | 55 | 88 | 85 | 502 |

SOURCE: MDRC calculations from Participant Enrollment Forms in the Project Redirection Information System.

NOTES: Sample includes all teens enrolled by April 30, 1985.

Distributions may not add exactly to 100.0 percent because of rounding.

[a]Based on teens who were parents at the time of enrollment.

[b]Based on teens who were not in school at the time of enrollment.

[c]Based on teens who were pregnant at the time of enrollment.

[d]Based on teens with any children at the time of enrollment. More than one response was possible.

based sites. With the exception of St. Louis, where almost one-quarter of the teens were school dropouts at enrollment, most of the out-of-school enrollees were recruited by the three agency sites.[2]

Despite this preponderance of in-school teens, many were not performing adequately in school and were in great danger of dropping out. As one counselor at the New Futures School in Albuquerque noted:

> Some of our students fall "between the cracks." We saw Project Redirection as an opportunity to help reach those who weren't coming regularly to classes. The community women could provide the extra support to try to get the teens to come to the school where the staff could work with them.

Most teens enrolled in the program had already received pre- or postnatal care for themselves and pediatric care for their children. A notable exception is the Greenville site, where more than two-thirds of the young mothers had not obtained pediatric care for their children.

One-half of the teens in the demonstration had never received family planning services before enrolling, and only a few -- 16 percent -- had obtained employability services. The Albuquerque teens stand out as the one group with prior service receipt in all major Redirection areas, primarily because of their enrollment in a program of comprehensive services in the New Futures School. With the exception of employment-related services, teens in El Paso similarly benefited from the comprehensive program offerings of the Schoolage Parent Center.

While Table 2.2 reveals some diversity in characteristics across sites, the sample as a whole is clearly a disadvantaged group. The teens were young, largely minority and from single-parent households that were welfare-dependent or working poor. The numbers, however, cannot capture the very difficult personal situations of many of these teens. Staff

descriptions reveal that, among other problems, family conflict, physical abuse and poor housing were common. Such circumstances reinforce the multiple obstacles to self-sufficiency already posed by the participants' early childbearing.

In many respects, the teens in the second demonstration differed as a group from those in the first -- a fact to be kept in mind when comparisons are made between the teens' performance in the two demonstrations. (See Appendix Table A.1.) The most obvious difference is the greater proportion of teens in school at enrollment compared to the teens in the original sample. The second sample also contains fewer whites and almost no Puerto Ricans. Additionally, a greater proportion of teens in the second demonstration were already parents at enrollment, although fewer had received prior medical care for themselves and their children. Second demonstration teens were also more likely to have already obtained some employability and family planning services, a result, probably, of the much higher proportion who were currently in or had previously been enrolled in some other program for teen parents. Thus, teens in the second program, while disadvantaged, were somewhat "better off" than teens enrolled in the original sites in terms of several important criteria.

## III. Why Teens Joined Project Redirection

During open-ended interviews with MDRC staff, teens were asked to explain why they had joined Project Redirection. Two-thirds of the 40 teens questioned said that they liked the promised social support and help with family problems and, particularly, the community women. As one teen put it:

> I liked the idea that the community woman would give me someone to talk to and take me places. My mother wasn't available. Just the fact that someone was there for me.

Teens were also drawn by the opportunity to be with peers who were struggling with similar difficulties. Additional important reasons were the promised help with education and employment, and guidance in becoming more self-sufficient.

In the first demonstration, teens were offered a $30-per-month stipend for participating in Project Redirection activities. While intended to help defray costs that the teens might incur in the program, the stipend was also viewed as an incentive payment to encourage the teens' enrollment and cooperation with program expectations. Budget restrictions, however, precluded stipends in the second demonstration at all but the Cleveland site, although teens in the second demonstration were generally provided with bus tokens for travel to and from program activities. The question was thus raised as to whether the lack of a stipend would affect enrollment levels. The evidence indicates that it did not. By the fall of 1984, all sites were maintaining or exceeding their expected slot levels, although the second programs were smaller than the original ones.

This degree of success does not mean there were no obstacles to recruitment. Difficulties were most pronounced in the community agency sites where staff had no access to a pool of eligible students, a source readily available to the school-based programs. Even when good sources were located, other problems could arise. Atlanta staff, for example, had trouble generating a steady stream of referrals from a teen parent clinic because, they believed, the organization perceived Redirection as a competitor. In Greenville, recruitment was constrained by the narrow age

range of eligible teens caused by the funding requirements of JTPA.

It is important to note that, in several sites, some teens who were recruited and officially enrolled never returned after the initial intake interview. Examination of the monthly IPP worksheets used to keep track of teens' activities shows that, of the 501 teens initially enrolled across sites, about one quarter left the program before being scheduled for or participating in activities.[3] (In the first demonstration, 18 percent of the enrollees never began active participation.) This turnover required staff to spend additional time on recruitment to keep up the slot levels.

## IV. Recruitment and Characteristics of Community Women

Through April 1985, the second demonstration sites recruited 252 community women. In the early stages, when Project Redirection was not well known locally, staff actively sought volunteers, using a variety of outreach efforts. These included contacting their own friends and acquaintances, presenting the program and community woman concept to local social and church groups, advertisements, and publicizing Project Redirection in news stories and talk shows. Later in the demonstration, the community women themselves became the main source of new recruits. By spreading the word about the program and their satisfaction with it, they generated a steady supply of volunteers.

The kinds of women who joined Project Redirection can be gauged by examining Table 2.3. On average, community women were 35 years old; most were between 25 and 44 years. In the Brooklyn site, they were notably older, with an average age of 47. Because most of the communities in which the program operated were predominantly black, the majority of community

TABLE 2.3

SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF COMMUNITY WOMEN
AT TIME OF ENROLLMENT IN PROJECT REDIRECTION, BY SITE

| Characteristic | School-Based Sites | | | | Community Agencies | | | All Sites |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | St. Louis | Brooklyn | El Paso | Albuquerque | Atlanta | Cleveland | Greenville | |
| Age (%) | | | | | | | | |
| 24 Years or Less | 8.3 | 7.7 | 13.5 | 20.0 | 6.9 | 15.4 | 7.1 | 11.7 |
| 25 - 34 Years | 47.2 | 7.7 | 48.1 | 40.0 | 58.9 | 50.0 | 42.9 | 46.4 |
| 35 - 44 Years | 33.3 | 38.5 | 29.9 | 22.9 | 31.0 | 26.9 | 28.6 | 29.0 |
| 45 - 59 Years | 11.1 | 38.5 | 7.7 | 14.3 | 1.7 | 7.7 | 14.3 | 10.1 |
| 60 Years or More | 0.0 | 7.7 | 3.9 | 2.9 | 1.7 | 0.0 | 7.1 | 2.9 |
| Mean Age (Years) | 34.4 | 47.1 | 34.1 | 34.5 | 32.5 | 33.0 | 37.7 | 34.9 |
| Ethnicity (%) | | | | | | | | |
| White | 8.1 | 0.0 | 65.4 | 57.1 | 6.9 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 24.2 |
| Black | 89.2 | 100.0 | 1.9 | 5.7 | 91.5 | 92.3 | 100.0 | 62.9 |
| Chicana | 2.7 | 0.0 | 30.9 | 20.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 8.3 |
| Other Hispanic | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.9 | 11.4 | 1.7 | 7.7 | 0.0 | 3.2 |
| American Indian/Other | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 5.7 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.8 |
| Marital Status (%) | | | | | | | | |
| Never Married | 27.0 | 23.1 | 11.5 | 14.3 | 39.0 | 26.9 | 13.3 | 23.0 |
| Married, Spouse Present | 43.2 | 23.1 | 65.4 | 68.6 | 39.0 | 26.9 | 40.0 | 47.2 |
| Married, Spouse Absent | 16.2 | 15.4 | 5.8 | 0.0 | 6.8 | 19.2 | 6.7 | 8.7 |
| Widowed/Divorced | 13.5 | 38.5 | 17.3 | 17.1 | 15.3 | 26.9 | 40.0 | 21.0 |
| Head of Household (%) | 48.6 | 76.9 | 28.8 | 25.7 | 59.3 | 73.1 | 56.7 | 48.6 |

(continued)

TABLE 2.3 (continued)

| Characteristic | School-Based Sites | | | | Community Agencies | | | All Sites |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | St. Louis | Brooklyn | El Paso | Albuquerque | Atlanta | Cleveland | Greenville | |
| Living With Own Children (%) | | | | | | | | |
| Under 6 Years | 37.8 | 23.1 | 26.9 | 37.1 | 25.4 | 57.7 | 36.7 | 33.7 |
| Between 6 and 12 Years | 43.2 | 23.1 | 26.9 | 40.0 | 25.4 | 34.6 | 30.0 | 32.1 |
| Between 13 and 18 Years | 35.1 | 38.5 | 15.4 | 22.9 | 15.3 | 19.2 | 30.0 | 22.6 |
| Older Than 18 Years | 21.6 | 30.8 | 3.8 | 11.4 | 6.8 | 11.5 | 10.0 | 12.3 |
| Receiving AFDC (%) | 5.4 | 15.4 | 0.0 | 2.9 | 5.1 | 26.9 | 3.3 | 8.3 |
| Highest Grade Completed (%) | | | | | | | | |
| 8th Grade or Less | 2.7 | 30.8 | 3.8 | 0.0 | 1.7 | 0.0 | 3.4 | 3.8 |
| 10th - 11th Grade | 5.4 | 7.7 | 0.0 | 11.4 | 1.7 | 19.2 | 17.2 | 7.2 |
| 12th Grade | 43.2 | 61.5 | 34.6 | 42.9 | 54.2 | 46.2 | 24.1 | 43.0 |
| More Than 12th Grade[a] | 48.6 | 0.0 | 61.5 | 45.7 | 42.4 | 34.6 | 55.2 | 46.2 |
| Mean Grade Completed | 13.7 | 10.5 | 13.9 | 13.6 | 14.7 | 12.8 | 13.2 | 13.7 |
| Highest Degree Obtained (%) | | | | | | | | |
| None | 5.4 | 30.8 | 0.0 | 14.3 | 3.4 | 7.7 | 10.3 | 7.2 |
| High School Diploma | 37.8 | 53.8 | 44.2 | 37.1 | 18.6 | 38.5 | 27.6 | 34.3 |
| General Equivalency Diploma | 10.8 | 15.4 | 3.8 | 2.9 | 3.4 | 15.4 | 3.4 | 6.4 |
| Associate | 2.7 | 0.0 | 5.8 | 2.9 | 8.5 | 3.8 | 10.3 | 5.8 |
| Bachelor's | 35.1 | 0.0 | 28.8 | 22.9 | 49.2 | 26.9 | 31.0 | 31.8 |
| Vocational/Trade | 2.7 | 0.0 | 11.5 | 11.4 | 0.0 | 3.8 | 13.8 | 6.4 |
| Master's/Doctorate | 5.4 | 0.0 | 7.7 | 8.6 | 16.9 | 3.8 | 3.4 | 8.4 |
| Current Employment Status (%) | | | | | | | | |
| Employed Full-Time | 59.5 | 15.4 | 44.2 | 37.1 | 56.9 | 15.4 | 44.8 | 44.0 |
| Employed Part-Time | 16.2 | 7.7 | 11.5 | 20.0 | 27.6 | 15.4 | 31.0 | 19.8 |
| Not Employed | 24.3 | 76.9 | 44.2 | 42.9 | 15.5 | 69.2 | 24.1 | 36.4 |

(continued)

TABLE 2.3 (continued)

| Characteristic | School-Based Sites | | | | Community Agencies | | | All Sites |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | St. Louis | Brooklyn | El Paso | Albuquerque | Atlanta | Cleveland | Greenville | |
| Involved in Community Activities (%)[b] | | | | | | | | |
| Church Groups | 54.1 | 61.5 | 46.2 | 31.4 | 71.2 | 42.9 | 90.0 | 56.7 |
| Schools | 43.2 | 30.8 | 40.4 | 40.0 | 42.4 | 57.7 | 53.3 | 44.0 |
| Politics | 10.8 | 38.5 | 21.2 | 14.3 | 23.7 | 7.7 | 26.7 | 18.4 |
| Social Organizations | 27.0 | 7.7 | 23.1 | 5.7 | 23.7 | 30.8 | 50.0 | 24.8 |
| Charities | 29.7 | 15.4 | 28.8 | 22.9 | 30.5 | 34.6 | 20.0 | 27.4 |
| Other | 18.9 | 15.4 | 13.5 | 22.9 | 23.7 | 23.1 | 13.3 | 19.0 |
| Number of Community Women | 37 | 13 | 52 | 35 | 60 | 26 | 30 | 259 |

SOURCE: MDRC calculations from Community Women Enrollment Forms in the Project Redirection Information System.

NOTES: Sample includes all community women enrolled through April 30, 1985.

Distributions may not add exactly to 100.0 percent because of rounding.

[a]This category includes college and vocational training ever taking place after completion of high school.

[b]Women could give more than one response.

women (62 percent) were also black, although one-quarter of the women, almost all in El Paso and Albuquerque, were white. Albuquerque and El Paso also accounted for most of the demonstration's Chicana and other Hispanic women, who constituted 13 percent of the total.

Almost half of the community women were married and living with their spouses; a similar proportion were heads of household. Patterns varied considerably across sites, however. El Paso and Albuquerque community women were much less likely to head a household than women in the other projects.

The majority of community women (64 percent) were working at the time they joined the program, about 44 percent full-time; only 6 percent were receiving welfare. Brooklyn and Cleveland were the only sites where most women were not working, and a sizable minority (15 percent and 27 percent, respectively) were on welfare. On average, the women were also well-educated. The majority had at least a high school or GED diploma, while over 40 percent had graduated from a four-year college or more.

When women in this group are compared to volunteers for the original demonstration, important differences emerge. Community women in the second demonstration were considerably better educated, more likely to be working, and less likely to be on welfare than their predecessors. (See Appendix Table A.2.) In the first demonstration, only 15 percent of the women had a four-year college degree or more, 71 percent were not employed, and 27 percent were on welfare. Moreover, fewer women in the first demonstration had been involved in other voluntary activities before joining Project Redirection.

To some extent, these background differences may reflect the stronger

efforts of the newer sites to draw such women into the program. Another factor may have been a change in the teen/community women ratios. In the first demonstration -- in part because of the larger number of participants -- staff encouraged most volunteers to assume responsibility for several teens. Consequently, non-working women were better suited to fill a role demanding a good deal of time and flexible hours. In the second demonstration, volunteers were usually matched with only one or two teens, making it easier for working women to take part.

Also important was the nature of the communities in which the projects were located. In several of the new sites, public transportation is quite limited, and unless the volunteers live near the program or the teens' homes, they must drive a car to stay in touch. These conditions posed more of an obstacle to the participation of low-income women than in the first demonstration, where Boston and New York had good transportation systems. In the two original sites with inadequate public transportation -- Phoenix and Riverside -- the proportion of welfare recipients serving as community women was much lower (13 and 15 percent) than in Boston (85 percent) and in Harlem (34 percent). (See Branch et al., 1984.)

While women in the two demonstrations differed on a number of characteristics, their reasons for volunteering seem to have been much the same. Typically, they were spurred by altruism. When asked why they joined the programs, most of the 42 community women interviewed indicated that they wanted to help teenagers whose lives were difficult. An El Paso woman said:

> I had a hard time growing up myself and just wanted to help kids get through those early years.

Some women were drawn to the program because of their own experiences as teen parents, as this respondent from Atlanta indicated:

> I had my baby when I was 20, and I felt that I could help some teens, knowing the psychological trauma I went through. I had my family to help me, but a lot of low-income teens don't have this.

Sometimes it was the broader teen pregnancy problem that prompted women to join the program. A respondent from Greenville noted:

> I'm concerned with what's happening in our community and thought I could help -- with so many girls becoming parents at young ages, and the high infant mortality rates among blacks.

As in the first demonstration, community women received stipends to help defray transportation and other costs of program participation. However, all but one of the women interviewed said that the stipend had made no difference in her decision to volunteer. Many, in fact, had been unaware of it when they applied. "The reason I joined was to give my time," said one woman, echoing a common sentiment.

Most of the women said they would still spend time with their teens without financial support, but a few noted that, without a stipend, they would have to curtail certain activities they enjoyed with the teens.

## V. The Role of the Community Women and Their Relationships with Teens

Community women were to serve as friends and confidantes to the teens, offering them guidance and encouragement to achieve the program's goals. After volunteering, they were given several hours of training, usually in groups, and were subsequently offered regular in-service training. In weekly or monthly group meetings with program staff, they discussed their relationships with their teens and strategies for helping them.

Although certain factors, such as available time and geographic proximity, played a part in the matching of teens and community women, the process was guided largely by the personalities of the people involved. Staff often paired teens and community women who had similar interests or traits. Other times, they would try to match teens with community women who exemplified a type of behavior they sought to encourage.

Community women were expected to have at least five hours of weekly contact with each teen assigned to them. In practice, the amount varied, depending on the schedules of both and the distance between their homes, since they usually did not live in the same neighborhood. Typically, community women would see their teens weekly or biweekly and speak on the phone. When they met, it was often at one of the homes. Many women took their teens shopping or to movies, restaurants or other recreational events, but there were instances in which most in-person contact took place at the program building.

Teens and community women at the Brooklyn site probably spent the least time together; however, because of management difficulties with that program, staff monitoring of the contacts lapsed for many months. In Greenville, outings to movies, stores and restaurants were less common than in the other sites. As one staff member explained:

> In rural areas, you won't find the zoos, amusement parks and other things that interest teens. Plus, the community women here can't afford movies and dinners.

The community women also guided participants in their use of needed services. They helped teens make clinic appointments and told them how to apply for food assistance (WIC), often accompanying teens on their office visits. They also assisted them in their dealings with the welfare agency.

On the whole, teens reacted positively to their community women. Among the 40 interviewees, over half described their community women as "helpful," particularly in providing emotional support. As one teen said:

> She's just like a best friend. If I need someone, she's always there. If I have any problems, she's going to try to help me as much as she can.

About half of the interviewees were not completely satisfied; most expressed a desire to spend more time with their community women.

In some cases, teens would not allow an intimacy with their community women to develop. As one staff member noted, "Some teens have a wall that can't be penetrated." Sites soon learned that close relationships take time to develop, but sometimes this process was frustrating to the community women, particularly when teens would not return phone calls or follow through with the activities they had agreed to pursue. As an Atlanta staff member explained:

> The community women sometimes have too high expectations of the teens and how quickly the teens will bond to them. They have to learn that there are ups and downs in any relationship.

Data show that about 90 percent of the participants with an IPP worksheet were assigned to a community woman. Almost one-quarter were reassigned one or more times to a different one. In 14 percent of the cases, these reassignments came at the request of the teens; another 14 percent were initiated by the community women, and program staff made another 30 percent of the changes. Most often, however, reassignments were necessary because community women left the program (43 percent of the cases).

The duration of the community women's involvement in Project Redirection was measured for an early sample of volunteers -- those who joined the

program by May 31, 1984. This group was chosen because it allowed the volunteers' behavior to be tracked for a minimum of 11 months before data collection ended. The results are presented in Table 2.4.

It is clear from the table that over half (56 percent) of the volunteers who joined the program remained in it for over one year. About 20 percent left within six months, and the average length of stay was 13 months. Table 2.5 shows that the newer sites were able to retain community women for about as long as the original demonstration, where the average length of stay was 14 months. Moreover, a higher proportion of volunteers in the newer sites remained in the program for longer than one year (56 percent versus 41 percent).

Table 2.6 indicates that 46 percent of all community women who left the program said they did so because it was too demanding or they had conflicting family responsibilities. About 15 percent said they had simply lost interest in the program. Nevertheless, sites in the second demonstration were able to maintain a steady flow of new community women to replace those who left. Teens who remained active in the program were therefore not left unmatched.

TABLE 2.4

DISTRIBUTION OF COMMUNITY WOMEN'S LENGTH OF STAY IN PROJECT REDIRECTION, BY SITE

| Length of Stay | School-Based Sites | | | | Community Agencies | | | All Sites |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | St.Louis | Brooklyn | El Paso | Albu-querque | Atlanta | Cleveland | Green-ville | |
| 3 Months or Less | 19.0 | 0.0 | 6.5 | 3.8 | 0.0 | 7.1 | 22.7 | 8.5 |
| 4 - 6 Months | 19.0 | 11.1 | 12.9 | 15.4 | 3.3 | 0.0 | 18.2 | 11.8 |
| 7 - 9 Months | 9.5 | 22.2 | 25.8 | 3.8 | 10.0 | 0.0 | 9.1 | 11.8 |
| 10 -12 Months | 14.3 | 22.2 | 3.2 | 19.2 | 23.3 | 0.0 | 4.5 | 12.4 |
| More Than 12 Months | 38.1 | 44.4 | 51.6 | 57.7 | 63.3 | 92.9 | 45.5 | 55.6 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Average Stay (Months) | 9.7 | 13.1 | 12.8 | 14.2 | 13.9 | 18.4 | 10.6 | 13.1 |
| Number of Community Women | 21 | 9 | 31 | 26 | 30 | 14 | 22 | 153 |

SOURCE: MDRC calculations from Community Women Enrollment and Termination Forms in the Project Redirection Information System.

NOTES: Sample includes all community women enrolled in Project Redirection through May 31, 1984, allowing 11 months as the minimum possible stay before the end of data collection in April 1985.

Distributions may not add exactly to 100.0 percent because of rounding.

TABLE 2.5

DISTRIBUTION OF COMMUNITY WOMEN'S LENGTH OF STAY IN PROJECT REDIRECTION, BY DEMONSTRATION AND TYPE OF PROGRAM SPONSOR

| Length of Stay | Second Demonstration | | | First Demonstration |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | School-Based Sites | Community Agencies | All Sites | All Sites |
| 3 Months or Less | 5.0 | 9.1 | 8.5 | 24.9 |
| 4 - 6 Months | 14.9 | 7.6 | 11.8 | 15.2 |
| 7 - 9 Months | 14.9 | 7.6 | 11.8 | 8.9 |
| 10 - 12 Months | 12.6 | 12.1 | 12.4 | 9.7 |
| More Than 12 Months | 49.4 | 63.6 | 55.6 | 41.4 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Average Stay (Months) | 12.5 | 14.0 | 13.1 | 14.0 |
| Number of Participants | 87 | 66 | 153 | 237 |

SOURCE: MDRC calculations from Community Women Enrollment and Termination Forms in the Project Redirection Information System.

NOTES: The sample for the second demonstration includes all community women who enrolled by May 31, 1984, allowing a minimum possible stay of 11 months before data collection ended in April 1985. The sample for the first demonstration includes all community women enrolled in Project Redirection through April 30, 1982. This allows a minimum possible length of stay of 11 months before data collection ended on March 31, 1983, except in the Boston site. In Boston, data collection ended sooner, [illegible]ing a minimum stay of 9 months.

Distributions may not add exactly to 100.0 percent because of rounding.

TABLE 2.8

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF COMMUNITY WOMEN'S REASONS FOR LEAVING PROJECT REDIRECTION, BY SITE

| | School-Based Sites | | | | Community Agencies | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Reasons | St. Louis | Brooklyn | El Paso | Albu-querque | Atlanta | Cleveland | Green-ville | All Sites |
| Employed | 6.3 | 0.0 | 13.6 | 12.5 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 7.7 | 7.5 |
| Too Demanding; Conflicts With Family Responsibilities | 50.0 | 66.7 | 40.9 | 31.3 | 28.6 | 66.7 | 69.2 | 46.2 |
| Moved | 0.0 | 0.0 | 18.2 | 6.3 | 14.3 | 0.0 | 7.7 | 8.6 |
| Lost Interest | 18.8 | 0.0 | 13.6 | 18.8 | 28.6 | 0.0 | 7.7 | 15.1 |
| Program Request | 25.0 | 33.3 | 13.6 | 12.5 | 28.6 | 0.0 | 7.7 | 17.2 |
| Other | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 18.8 | 0.0 | 33.3 | 0.0 | 5.4 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number of Community Women | 16 | 6 | 22 | 16 | 14 | 6 | 13 | 93 |

SOURCE: MDRC calculations from Community Women Termination Forms.

NOTES: Sample includes all community women who left Project Redirection by April 30, 1985.

Distributions may not add exactly to 100.0 percent because of rounding.

## CHAPTER 3

## SERVICE DELIVERY STRATEGIES AND OUTCOMES

A central purpose of the second Project Redirection demonstration was to study ways in which the content and delivery of services to teens could be improved. Another was to examine the feasibility of operating the program in new settings, particularly in the school-based sites. This chapter addresses these issues, focusing on the key service areas: education, health care, family planning and other life management skills. It also examines the duration of teens' participation in the program, their reasons for leaving, and the overall costs of service provision. Chapter 4 will consider the sites' experience in strengthening employability activities.

### I. The Sample and Key Questions

The sample followed in the first section of this chapter includes all teens enrolled in the second demonstration through December 31, 1984 for whom there were one or more completed IPP worksheets -- the documents staff used to track teens' activities on a monthly basis.[1] The purpose of selecting this sample was to ensure that each teen had an opportunity to avail herself of program services for a minimum of four months before data collection ended in April 1985. A four-month minimum seemed satisfactory because research on the original demonstration showed that the vast majority of teens who received program services began to do so within the first few months of enrollment (Branch et al., 1984).[2] It should also be

noted that the sample was limited to tee :h any IPP worksheets in order to eliminate enrollees who did not stay : program long enough to take part in its activities. This allowed a more accurate assessment of the program's accomplishments.[3]

Several key questions were asked in this study examining the sites' delivery of services and the teens' involvement in these activities. For example, how many teens "ever participated" in the services designated for them? How much time did the teens spend in each service, and what was their rate of attendance?

The following sections describe the patterns of involvement in each major Redirection service area (except in employability services, a topic discussed in the next chapter). The results found in this study are compared to those of the original demonstration in order to answer the overall question posed in the first chapter: Was service delivery and the teens' receipt of services strengthened in the second round of program operations? The analysis concludes with a brief discussion of the teens' length of stay in the program and their reasons for leaving it.

## II. Education and Family Planning

### A. Education

Project Redirection required that all of its participants be involved in educational activities leading either to a high school or GED diploma. For the many teens who entered Project Redirection as school enrollees but who were poor students or had records of truancy -- or for other reasons were at risk of dropping out -- the program's goal was to keep them in school and help them improve their performance. For the teens who had

dropped out before Redirection enrollment, the program tried to help them re-enter school and remain there.

Panel A of Table 3.1 shows the proportion of the sample that "ever participated" in various educational activities: that is, they attended one or more days. In all of the school-based sites, most teens attended the schools that were sponsoring Project Redirection. These are classified as alterr tive public schools, except in St. Louis, where the sponsoring agency was a regular public high school. In El Paso, most teens began by attending the Schoolage Parent Center, but returned to their regular high school the semester after delivery, as required by school district regulations.

In two of the community agency sites, Atlanta and Cleveland, most teens attended regular public schools. In Greenville, about half of the teens attended regular public schools, while the other half participated in a GED preparation course taught four days a week, two hours daily, by a certified teacher on the Redirection staff. Greenville was in fact the only one of the three agency programs that provided on-site educational services, primarily because educational alternatives for school dropouts were limited in this rural community. (Other GED programs did exist but served adults and were not suited to the needs of young teens.) As a result of this on-site activity, 96 percent of the Greenville participants took part in a school-related program, a rate that exceeded the level achieved by most of the more urban sites.

Another noteworthy approach of the Greenville site was the "Homebound Program," aimed to keep teens from falling behind in their school work. Through an informal arrangement with the local schools, a Project Redirec-

TABLE 3.1

A. PERCENT OF TEENS WHO EVER PARTICIPATED IN EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES, BY SITE

| Activity | School-Based Sites | | | | Community Agencies | | | All Sites |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | St. Louis | Brooklyn | El Paso | Albu-querque | Atlanta | Cleveland | Green-ville | |
| Regular Public Sch | 84.3 | 0.0 | 73.9 | 13.0 | 82.4 | 80.0 | 49.1 | 60.2 |
| General Equivalen. Diploma Program | 2.4 | 0.0 | 4.4 | 0.0 | 5.9 | 5.3 | 49.1 | 9.7 |
| Alternative School | 1.2 | 82.9 | 78.3 | 80.4 | 82.4 | 12.0 | 1.9 | 33.3 |
| Any Educational Activity[a] | 88.0 | 82.9 | 97.8 | 82.6 | 88.2 | 81.3 | 96.2 | 87.9 |
| Number of Participants | 83 | 35 | 46 | 46 | 34 | 75 | 53 | 372 |

B. PERCENT OF TEENS WHO EVER PARTICIPATED IN EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES, BY DEMONSTRATION AND TYPE OF PROGRAM SPONSOR

| Activity | Second Demonstration | | | First Demonstration |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | School-Based Sites | Community Agencies | All Sites | All Sites |
| Regular Public School | 52.4 | 70.4 | 60.2 | 30.6 |
| General Equivalency Diploma Program | 1.9 | 19.8 | 9.7 | 43.9 |
| Alternative School | 49.1 | 13.0 | 33.3 | 21.7 |
| Any Educational Activity[a] | 88.1 | 87.7 | 87.9 | 76.8 |
| Number of Participants | 210 | 162 | 372 | 180 |

SOURCE: MDRC calculations from weekly IPP Worksheets in the Project Redirection Information System.

NOTES: Sample for the second demonstration includes all teens with any IPP Worksheets who enrolled in Project Redirection through December 31, 1984. Data cover participation in activities from enrollment through April 30, 1985.

Sample for the first demonstration includes all teens with any IPP Worksheets who enrolled in Project Redirection during January 1, 1982 through August 31, 1982. Data cover participation in activities fro enrollment through December 31, 1982.

[a]Includes regular public schools, GED programs and alternative schools.

tion teacher served as a conduit between the schools and pregnant students who were home awaiting delivery. The teacher relayed and assisted teens with school assignments and administered their exams.

Data on educational activities in Panel B of Table 3.1 are similar to those in Panel A, but allow direct comparisons between the school-based and agency sites and between the first and second demonstrations.[4] The last two columns of the table indicate that, compared to teens in the first demonstration, those in the second were more likely overall to have "ever participated" in an educational activity (88 percent versus 77 percent) and much more likely to have done so in a regular public school (60 percent versus 31 percent). Even the agency sites, which were comparable in many respects to the sites in the first demonstration, had a much higher proportion of teens in regular public schools (70 percent) than teens in the first demonstration.

The intensity of teens' involvement in school or other educational services is as important in evaluating the delivery of Redirection services as the proportion of teens who ever received them. Panel A of Table 3.2 presents data on the average number of times teens participated in school or other educational activities. It should be noted that this sample differs from the prior one in that it is limited to an earlier group of enrollees -- those having IPP worksheets who entered Project Redirection by May 31, 1984. The teens in this sample could be tracked for a minimum of 11 months, provided they remained in the program.[5]

Teens in the second demonstration took part in an educational activity for an average of 66 days while they were enrolled in Project Redirection.[6] By site, this ranged from a low of 41 days in Albuquerque to a high of 107

TABLE 3.2

A. AVERAGE NUMBER OF DAYS TEENS PARTICIPATED IN EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES, BY SITE

| Service | School-Based Sites | | | | Community Agencies | | | All Sites |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | St. Louis | Brooklyn | El Paso | Albuquerque | Atlanta | Cleveland | Greenville | |
| Regular Public School | 32.8 | 0.0 | 68.8 | 11.2 | 58.9 | 64.8 | 63.4 | 44.8 |
| General Equivalency Diploma Program | 0.7 | 0.0 | 0.8 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.1 | 18.8 | 2.8 |
| Alternative School | 0.8 | 70.4 | 87.5 | 30.0 | 15.8 | 4.9 | 0.8 | 18.4 |
| Any Educational Activity[a] | 34.5 | 70.4 | 107.2 | 41.2 | 73.9 | 70.8 | 80.3 | 65.0 |
| Number of Participants | 38 | 24 | 35 | 29 | 18 | 48 | 34 | 242 |

B. AVERAGE NUMBER OF DAYS TEENS PARTICIPATED IN EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES, BY DEMONSTRATION AND TYPE OF PROGRAM SPONSOR

| Activity | Second Demonstration | | | First Demonstration |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | School-Based Sites | Community Agencies | All Sites | All Sites |
| Regular Public School | 31.7 | 63.1 | 44.8 | 24.2 |
| General Equivalency Diploma Program | 0.5 | 6.1 | 2.8 | 18.9 |
| Alternative School | 27.7 | 5.3 | 18.4 | 5.9 |
| Any Educational Activity[a] | 59.9 | 74.4 | 65.0 | 47.0 |
| Number of Participants | 141 | 101 | 242 | 144 |

SOURCE: MDRC calculations from weekly IPP Worksheets in the Project Redirection Information System.

NOTES: Sample for the second demonstration includes all teens with any IPP Worksheets who enrolled in Project Redirection through May 31, 1984. Data cover participation in activities from enrollment through April 30, 1985.

Sample for the first demonstration includes all teens with any IPP Worksheets who enrolled in Project Redirection during January 1, 1982 through June 30, 1982. Data cover participation in activities from enrollment through March 31, 1983.

[a]Includes regular public schools, GED programs and alternative schools.

days in El Paso. Panel B of Table 3.2 presents the data by type of program sponsor in the second demonstration and for the two demonstrations separately. The teens in the second demonstration -- all sites taken together -- attended more days of school or an educational activity on average than those in the original sites (66 versus 47 days), although the activity of teens in the original sites may be somewhat underestimated.[7] Most variation in the educational outcomes of the two demonstrations, however, was probably due to the differences in the background characteristics of the two groups, as described below.

A statistical analysis, using multiple regression, was conducted on a combined sample of teens from both demonstrations to compare the average number of days that teens in each program participated in any educational activity. Several important background characteristics of the teens at enrollment were held constant: their age, ethnicity, highest grade completed, whether or not they were pregnant, already enrolled in school, or living in a two-parent household or part of a family receiving AFDC welfare.[8]

The analysis found that, when these background characteristics were held constant, the difference between the two groups in the average number of days spent in school became statistically insignificant. This occurred when the school-based and community agency sites were compared to the original sites and to each other. The analysis further revealed that the higher level of school participation in the newer sites, shown in Table 3.2, was most strongly influenced by the fact that fewer teens in those sites were dropouts at the time of enrollment, and a smaller proportion were from families receiving welfare.

By the end of the second demonstration, according to available data, a total of 35 teens (or 8 percent of all enrollees with IPP worksheets) had graduated from high school or passed a GED exam.[9] This outcome is similar to the one observed in the original demonstration after controlling for differences in teens' background characteristics.[10] This small proportion of high school graduates reflects, in part, the young age of the teens when they entered the program and the fact that many were behind in grade level. It should be noted that these data are limited to a measure of educational completion while teens were still enrolled in Project Redirection. They do not include follow-up information on teens who left Project Redirection before completing their education.

B. Family Planning

At all Project Redirection sites, family planning issues were addressed in a variety of ways, both formally and informally. In the school-based sites, they were integrated into the curricula of the family life and parenting classes taught by school staff, while staff at the agency sites covered them in regularly scheduled workshops. Moreover, these issues were routinely raised in peer group sessions as teens discussed relationships with their boyfriends and other personal topics.

Sometimes these family planning services were provided by outside agencies; representatives from clinics sponsored by Planned Parenthood or local hospitals would be invited to the programs to discuss the use of contraceptives or related topics. Many teens were also referred to local hospitals and clinics to be examined and to procure birth control pills or other devices. In some sites, Redirection staff had a system whereby clinic staff helped to monitor the teens' family planning practices. When

teens missed their scheduled appointments for check-ups after having been given birth control supplies, clinics notified Redirection staff, who thereafter could talk to the teens about any problems.

Project Redirection staff believed that informal counseling was very important in determining teens' needs and family planning practices. Typically, the topic was broached at the point when teens entered Project Redirection, or soon after, when their needs were assessed for the IPPs. Throughout the teens' program stay, staff talked to the teens frequently about their use of contraceptives and any related concerns.

Community women were also expected to share in this responsibility. Interviews with staff members and community women suggest that, at most sites, regular in-service training sessions for community women covered the topic of the teens' contraceptive practices and discussed ways in which the community women could deal with teens who were not following proper procedures.

Interviews conducted with a non-random sample of 42 community women indicate that the volunteers paid fairly close attention to this task. Over half reported that they actively encouraged the teens to use birth control regularly. Others said that family planning was not an issue because, to the best of their knowledge, their teens were reliable contraceptors. Yet, four volunteers said they had not discussed the topic with their teens.

Data on teens' receipt of family planning services are available from the IPP worksheets. Panel A of Table 3.3 shows that 84 percent of the second demonstration teens "ever received" family planning services while enrolled in the program. By individual site, the proportion ranged from 74

TABLE 8.3

A. PERCENT OF TEENS WHO EVER PARTICIPATED IN LIFE MANAGEMENT AND HEALTH ACTIVITIES, BY SITE

| Program Activity | School-Based Sites | | | | Community Agencies | | | All Sites |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | St. Louis | Brooklyn | El Paso | Albuquerque | Atlanta | Cleveland | Greenville | |
| Life Management | | | | | | | | |
| Family Planning | 84.0 | 74.3 | 80.4 | 91.3 | 82.4 | 91.3 | 77.4 | 84.1 |
| Nutrition | 88.0 | 85.7 | 89.1 | 89.5 | 35.3 | 98.0 | 84.9 | 77.4 |
| Parenting Education | 85.7 | 77.1 | 80.4 | 95.7 | 50.0 | 89.3 | 98.7 | 85.5 |
| Other | 47.0 | 8.6 | 23.9 | 89.8 | 58.8 | 81.3 | 80.4 | 49.2 |
| Any Life Management[a] | 97.8 | 82.9 | 97.8 | 95.7 | 91.2 | 94.7 | 98.7 | 93.8 |
| Clinic Visits | | | | | | | | |
| Maternal Health | 84.3 | 80.0 | 95.2 | 84.8 | 79.4 | 78.7 | 49.1 | 73.1 |
| Infant Health | 76.0 | 80.3 | 97.7 | 80.0 | 88.2 | 80.9 | 48.0 | 78.8 |
| Number of Participants | 83 | 35 | 46 | 46 | 34 | 75 | 53 | 372 |

B. PERCENT OF TEENS WHO EVER PARTICIPATED IN LIFE MANAGEMENT AND HEALTH ACTIVITIES, BY DEMONSTRATION AND TYPE OF PROGRAM SPONSOR

| Program Activity | Second Demonstration | | | First Demonstration |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | School-Based Sites | Community Agencies | All Sites | All Sites |
| Life Management | | | | |
| Family Planning | 87.1 | 80.3 | 84.1 | 91.2[c] |
| Nutrition | 85.7 | 68.7 | 77.4 | 68.7 |
| Parenting Education | 89.1 | 80.9 | 85.5 | 87.2 |
| Other | 40.5 | 60.5 | 49.2 | 89.4 |
| Any Life Management[a] | 94.8 | 92.0 | 93.8 | 77.2[d] |
| Clinic Visits | | | | |
| Maternal Health | 76.2 | 69.1 | 73.1 | 88.9 |
| Infant Health[b] | 83.9 | 71.7 | 78.8 | 83.2 |
| Number of Participants | 210 | 162 | 372 | 180 |

SOURCE: MDRC calculations from weekly IPP Worksheets in the Project Redirection Information System.

NOTES: Sample for the second demonstration includes all teens with any IPP Worksheets who enrolled in Project Redirection through December 31, 1984. Data cover participation in activities from enrollment through April 30, 1985.

(continued)

TABLE 3.3 (continued)

Sample for the first demonstration includes all teens with any IPP Worksheets who enrolled in Project Redirection during January 1, 1982 through August 31, 1982. Data cover participation in activities from enrollment through December 31, 1982.

[a]Includes family planning, nutrition, parenting and other life management activities.

[b]Based on teens who were mothers at enrollment or became mothers during the period of data collection.

[c]Due to reporting errors, Riverside teens are not included in the sample for this calculation.

[d]Due to reporting errors, Riverside teens are not included in the sample for this calculation.

percent in Brooklyn to over 90 percent in St. Louis and Albuquerque. Panel B shows that a considerably higher proportion of teens in the second demonstration, compared to those in the first, had received some family planning instruction (84 percent versus 61 percent). It is important to note that these proportions primarily reflect the more structured services: discussions and presentations in family life classes and workshops and visits to family planning clinics. Informal discussions held with community women and staff members were not likely to be recorded on the IPP.

Panel A of Table 3.4 shows the number of sessions attended by teens in the sample including enrollees through May 1984. On average, teens took part in about 10 sessions, but the range across sites went from a low of two sessions in Atlanta to 21 in Albuquerque. The school-based sites (with the exception of El Paso) generated a much higher rate of activity than the agency sites, largely because the topic was incorporated into the regularly scheduled family life classes that Project Redirection teens attended in school. The much lower involvement in El Paso may be related to the fact that many teens were required to return to their regular schools while still in Redirection. Those who did so may have missed the structured lessons on family planning covered in the classes at the Schoolage Parent Center. Some, however, may have taken such lessons before joining Project Redirection.

From Panel B of Table 3.4, it is apparent that teens took part in more of these services in the second demonstration than in the first, where the average number of sessions per teen was two. It is interesting to note that the school-based sites account for most of the second-round increase, with 15 as the mean number of sessions attended. This difference is statis-

TABLE 3.4

A. AVERAGE NUMBER OF TIMES TEENS PARTICIPATED IN LIFE MANAGEMENT AND HEALTH ACTIVITIES, BY SITE

| Program Activity | School-Based Sites | | | | Community Agencies | | | All Sites |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | St. Louis | Brooklyn | El Paso | Albuquerque | Atlanta | Cleveland | Greenville | |
| Life Management Sessions | | | | | | | | |
| Family Planning | 18.8 | 12.9 | 3.1 | 20.9 | 2.8 | 4.8 | 2.7 | 8.8 |
| Nutrition | 16.2 | 7.4 | 8.4 | 12.8 | 1.1 | 1.8 | 5.1 | 8.1 |
| Parenting Education | 20.1 | 47.8 | 32.8 | 30.7 | 1.2 | 8.7 | 5.7 | 18.7 |
| Other | 8.4 | 0.2 | 8.2 | 5.2 | 1.4 | 2.0 | 5.7 | 4.3 |
| Any Life Management[a] | 82.3 | 67.8 | 50.8 | 78.8 | 8.1 | 14.7 | 18.3 | 43.0 |
| Clinic Visits | | | | | | | | |
| Maternal Health[b] | 2.8 | 3.7 | 2.8 | 3.5 | 4.2 | 5.1 | 2.7 | 3.5 |
| Infant Health[b] | 2.1 | 3.0 | 4.5 | 3.0 | 3.9 | 3.8 | 1.2 | 3.5 |
| Number of Participants | 88 | 24 | 35 | 26 | 15 | 49 | 34 | 242 |

B. AVERAGE NUMBER OF TIMES TEENS PARTICIPATED IN LIFE MANAGEMENT AND HEALTH ACTIVITIES, BY DEMONSTRATION AND TYPE OF PROGRAM SPONSOR

| Program Activity | Second Demonstration | | | First Demonstration |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | School-Based Sites | Community Agencies | All Sites | All Sites |
| Life Management Sessions | | | | |
| Family Planning | 14.8 | 3.4 | 8.9 | 1.8[c] |
| Nutrition | 12.7 | 2.7 | 8.1 | 3.7 |
| Parenting Education | 28.8 | 5.4 | 18.7 | 8.7 |
| Other | 5.0 | 3.2 | 4.3 | 3.8[d] |
| Any Life Management[a] | 69.3 | 14.7 | 43.0 | 13.6 |
| Clinic Visits | | | | |
| Maternal Health[b] | 3.0 | 4.1 | 3.5 | 7.3 |
| Infant Health[b] | 3.9 | 2.9 | 3.5 | 5.0 |
| Number of Participants | 141 | 101 | 242 | 144 |

SOURCE: MDRC calculations from weekly IPP Worksheets in the Project Redirection Information System.

NOTES: Sample for the second demonstration includes all teens with any IPP Worksheets who enrolled in Project Redirection through May 31, 1984. Data cover participation in activities from enrollment through April 30, 1985.

(continued)

Table 3.4 (continued)

Sample for the first demonstration includes all teens with any IPP Worksheets who enrolled in Project Redirection during January 1, 1982 through June 30, 1982. Data cover participation in activities from enrollment through March 31, 1983.

[a]Includes family planning, nutrition, parenting and other life management activities.

[b]Based on teens who were mothers at enrollment or became mothers during the period of data collection.

[c]Due to reporting errors, teens from the Riverside site and some family planning activities at the New York site are not included.

[d]Due to reporting errors, teens from the Riverside site and some family planning activities at the New York site are not included.

tically significant even when the variation in teens' background characteristics is controlled.[11] Agency sites differed little from the original programs on this measure.

On the whole, it appears that the sites in the second demonstration achieved the goal of strengthening the family planning component, especially in the school-based sites. In almost all of the sites, both staff and community women seem to have taken a more forthright approach to this subject than was the case in the first demonstration. On the whole, they were not reluctant to engage teens in discussions about their sexuality and to encourage those who were sexually active to be careful and consistent contraceptive users. (Brooklyn may be the exception, perhaps because the community women/teen interaction was more questionable, as noted in Chapter 2.) In the first demonstration, particularly in its earlier stages, program staff and community women were more hesitant to broach this issue (Branch et al., 1984).

Despite this new strategy, staff found that helping some of the teens become faithful users of contraceptives was an ongoing challenge in the second demonstration, just as it was in the first. Many teens interviewed in the new sites reported that they were not using birth control, citing numerous reasons. Some maintained they were not sexually active. Others complained about the side effects of the pill and said that it caused them to gain weight or made them feel sick.

Several staff members believed that many teens did not use birth control consistently because they were only occasionally sexually active. This was a pattern documented by the first demonstration's ethnographic study (Levy, 1983). Yet, staff also learned from the first demonstration

and their own observations that such teens were apt to have unplanned sexual encounters for which they were unprepared. In these cases, staff usually counseled the teens to use the pill anyway, just to be sure of protection. In other cases, they judged it better to withhold this kind of advice. As one staff member noted, "Some of the young girls say they won't have sex again for a long time. You just have to accept that and keep a real close eye on them."

By the end of the second demonstration, 25 teens (or 6 percent of all enrollees with any IPP worksheets) had reported a repeat pregnancy while still enrolled in Project Redirection. A multiple regression analysis compared this outcome with that achieved by the original sites, controlling for differences in teens' background characteristics.[12] When these adjustments were made, the proportion of teens with a repeat pregnancy was approximately 4 percentage points lower than in the original sites -- a difference that is statistically significant at the 5 percent level. However, this may partly reflect the teens' shorter length of stay in the newer sites, which means they were tracked for a shorter period of time than teens in the original sites. When the length of stay variable was controlled along with background characteristics, the difference in the repeat pregnancy rates was statistically insignificant.

It is important to emphasize that the available data do not include any pregnancies of the teens who left Project Redirection. It is thus not possible to compare the effectiveness of the two demonstrations in helping teens to delay post-program repeat pregnancies.

## III. Other Life Management Activities

### A. Health Care

As a comprehensive program, Project Redirection's goals extend beyond education and family planning to help teens manage other aspects of their lives. Ensuring that the teens learn the appropriate parenting skills and adopt good health care practices for themselves and their children are important aims of the program.

Data presented in Chapter 2 showed that, with the exception of Greenville, most teens had, in fact, received medical care for themselves and their children before enrollment. Panel A of Table 3.3 shows the proportion of teens at all sites who used these services after they became active in Project Redirection. Overall, the receipt of health services was quite high, except in Greenville. In that site, where over two-thirds of the mothers had not previously obtained care for their children, the proportion of teens who arranged for pediatric care during the demonstration increased to approximately one-half. Still, many babies were left without the appropriate medical services.

It is unlikely that a lack of access to medical facilities caused this poor coverage in the Greenville area. While such facilities are scarce and transportation difficulties could impede their use, a clinic was located within walking distance of the Redirection office. And, even though teen mothers kept almost all of their scheduled clinic appointments, (as will be seen), fewer appointments were arranged at this site than at the others. This difference may reflect a general rural-urban difference in attitudes about using medical services, but available data cannot confirm this hypothesis. Nevertheless, Greenville staff did not report any major health

problems among teens or their children that went without medical attention.

Panel B of Table 3.3 presents further data on clinic visits, categorized by type of program sponsor and demonstration. It shows that notably fewer teens in the second demonstration received maternal health care than in the first (73 percent versus 89 percent). This could have occurred because a higher proportion of teens in the first demonstration were pregnant when they entered Project Redirection and were thus in need of regular prenatal care. When only pregnant enrollees in the second demonstration are compared to those in the first, the data show that 90 percent made maternal clinic visits -- five on average -- while in the program.

B. Parenting Education, Nutrition and Other Activities

Parenting, nutrition and other life management skills were taught in family life classes and workshops. At the school-based sites, these activities were available to all pregnant and parenting teens in the school programs sponsoring Redirection, and were offered as credit courses. In some cases, they were supplemented by workshops and peer group sessions run exclusively for Project Redirection teens. The regular classes covered a broad range of topics, including infant care, the social and psychological development of children, nutritious but inexpensive meal preparation, dressing and grooming. The additional workshop sessions often featured outside guest speakers, while the peer group sessions focused on more personal topics.

Agency sites provided similar workshops and peer group meetings. In Atlanta and Greenville, they were led by staff members accompanied by frequent guest speakers. Cleveland contracted with another nonprofit agency to conduct a 30-week series of life management workshops held at the

site on a weekly basis.

In Atlanta, poor attendance caused the staff to rethink a decision to provide life management classes at the program offices. With most participants enrolled in the local schools, the staff secured an agreement from officials in two public high schools and one of the alternative schools to teach employability and life management classes in those settings. Thus, beginning in January 1985, Redirection staff have addressed these topics in the homeroom period at the high schools and in regular classes in the alternative school.

Panel A of Table 3.3 shows that 94 percent of Project Redirection teens received some form of life management instruction during the second demonstration, and most had training in parenting skills and proper nutrition. The exception during this study period was the Atlanta site, where half of the teens never received parenting instruction and 65 percent lacked nutrition training. The new arrangement with the school system, if continued, may improve Atlanta's delivery of these services.

From Panel B of Tables 3.3 and 3.4, it can be seen that a higher proportion of teens in the second demonstration than the first received life management activities and, on average, took part in many more sessions covering these topics. The difference in the average number of sessions attended is particularly obvious in the second-round school-based sites and is statistically significant when teens' background characteristics are controlled.[13]

## IV. Attendance in Scheduled Activities

The preceding sections have shown that Redirection sites in the second

demonstration -- particularly the school-based sites -- were able to increase the amount of some types of services received by participants over those delivered in the first demonstration. It is nevertheless noteworthy that the newer sites had many of the same difficulties as the original ones in getting the teens to attend scheduled activities regularly. Tables 3.5 and 3.6 present data on the proportion of scheduled activities that teens actually attended. With the exception of clinic appointments (which were almost always kept), teens in the second demonstration attended just about half of their scheduled activities. These rates approximate -- but in some cases are lower than -- those in the original sites. For example, all life management classes were better attended in the first demonstration.

Thus, sites in the second demonstration, which delivered considerably more units of family planning and life management instruction to the teens than the original sites, succeeded in raising the teens' active participation in these services not so much because their attendance rates were higher as because they were scheduled for many more sessions. The pattern was similar when the school-based and the agency sites were compared in the second demonstration. For example, on average, teens in the school-based sites were scheduled for 24 family planning sessions compared to seven in the agency sites. This frequency is related to the fact that, in the school-based sites, these activities were often part of a regular course of study.

Research on the original Project Redirection sites pointed to several reasons why attendance in the teen parent programs could be low. One was simply the new responsibility of motherhood that crowded the teens' already busy schedules of school and other activities. Serious personal problems,

TABLE 8.5

TEENS' AVERAGE ATTENDANCE RATES FOR EDUCATIONAL, LIFE MANAGEMENT AND HEALTH ACTIVITIES, BY SITE

| Program Activity | School-Based Sites | | | | Community Agencies | | | All Sites |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | St. Louis | Brooklyn | El Paso | Albuquerque | Atlanta | Cleveland | Greenville | |
| Education | | | | | | | | |
| Regular Public School | 87.8 | N/A | 78.0 | 72.5 | 72.7 | 73.8 | 72.0 | 89.0 |
| General Equivalency Diploma Program | 85.[illegible] | N/A | 85.8 | N/A | 83.8 | 84.7 | 43.0 | 80.1 |
| Alternative School | 100.0 | 58.5 | 86.3 | 42.9 | 80.0 | 45.1 | 100.0 | 57.9 |
| Any Educational Activity[a] | 89.4 | 56.8 | 72.1 | 88.7 | 73.1 | 82.0 | 86.6 | 89.6 |
| Life Management | | | | | | | | |
| Family Planning | 89.1 | 47.4 | 91.2 | 89.0 | 80.0 | 83.5 | 86.6 | 88.7 |
| Nutrition | 86.3 | 45.1 | 83.0 | 80.2 | 100.0 | 44.4 | 46.2 | 87.7 |
| Parenting Education | 88.0 | 81.4 | 85.5 | 88.9 | 83.8 | 84.2 | 85.3 | 84.0 |
| Other | 88.5 | 83.3 | 83.1 | 88.2 | 83.3 | 84.4 | 89.2 | 84.3 |
| Any Life Management[b] | 88.1 | 80.8 | 78.5 | 80.5 | 73.8 | 82.0 | 89.5 | 87.8 |
| Clinic Visits | | | | | | | | |
| Maternal Health | 88.4 | 86.8 | 83.6 | 86.8 | 86.5 | 85.5 | 85.8 | 84.8 |
| Infant Health[c] | 87.6 | 87.8 | 86.8 | 88.2 | 80.7 | 86.1 | 87.8 | 85.5 |

SOURCE: MDRC calculations from weekly IPP Worksheets in the Project Redirection Information System.

NOTES: Sample includes teens with any IPP Worksheets who enrolled in Project Redirection through December 31, 1984. Data cover participation in activities from enrollment through April 30, 1985.

The attendance rate for each activity is obtained by dividing the total number of days, sessions, or visits that teens actually attended by the total number that they were scheduled to attend. Teens never scheduled for a given activity are excluded from the sample on which the attendance rate is based.

[a] Includes regular public school, GED programs and alternative schools.

[b] Includes family planning, nutrition, parenting and other life management activities.

[c] Based on teens who were mothers at enrollment or became mothers during the period of data collection.

TABLE 3.6

TEENS' AVERAGE ATTENDANCE RATES FOR EDUCATIONAL, LIFE MANAGEMENT AND HEALTH ACTIVITIES, BY DEMONSTRATION AND TYPE OF PROGRAM SPONSOR

| Activity | Second Demonstration | | | First Demonstration |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | School-Based Sites | Community Agencies | All Sites | All Sites |
| Education | | | | |
| Regular Public School | 64.7 | 73.0 | 69.0 | 75.9 |
| General Equivalency Diploma Program | 80.2 | 46.1 | 50.1 | 48.8 |
| Alternative School | 56.2 | 66.2 | 57.9 | 76.2 |
| Any Educational Activity[a] | 54.8 | 65.8 | 59.6 | 71.3 |
| Life Management | | | | |
| Family Planning | 63.1 | 53.1 | 58.7 | 77.6[b] |
| Nutrition | 63.2 | 49.9 | 57.7 | 76.9 |
| Parenting Education | 58.7 | 47.7 | 54.0 | 64.5 |
| Other | 61.9 | 53.3 | 64.3 | 69.3 |
| Any Life Management[c] | 62.0 | 52.5 | 57.8 | 69.1[d] |
| Clinic Visits | | | | |
| Maternal Health | 95.2 | 94.1 | 94.8 | 96.8 |
| Infant Health[e] | 95.9 | 94.9 | 95.5 | 98.9 |

SOURCE: MDRC calculations from weekly IPP Worksheets in the Project Redirection Information System.

NOTES: Sample for the second demonstration includes teens with any IPP Worksheets who enrolled in Project Redirection through December 31, 1984. Data cover participation in activities from enrollment through April 30, 1985.

Sample for the first demonstration includes teens with any IPP Worksheets who enrolled in Project Redirection during January 1, 1982 through August 31, 1982. Data cover participation in activities from enrollment through December 31, 1982.

The attendance rate for each activity is obtained by dividing the total number of days, sessions or visits that teens actually attended by the total number they were scheduled to attend. Teens never scheduled for a given activity are excluded from the sample on which the attendance rate is based.

[a]Includes regular public schools, GED programs and alternative schools.

[b]Due to reporting errors, teens from the Riverside site and some family planning activities at the New York site are not included.

[c]Includes family planning, nutrition, parenting and other life management activities.

[d]Due to reporting errors, teens from the Riverside site and some family planning activities at the New York site are not included.

[e]Based on teens who were mothers at enrollment or became mothers during the period of data collection.

often caused by family situations, also made it difficult for many teens to sustain high levels of participation. And, particularly in the second demonstration agency sites, logistical factors could be an obstacle. For many teens enrolled in school, Project Redirection attendance meant a good deal of travel -- from school to home to pick up their babies and then on to the program's offices -- a time-consuming proposition when public transportation was scarce or slow. As noted earlier, this problem gave the Atlanta site an impetus to move its life management and employability workshops into the public schools.

In Greenville, the Project Redirection staff consistently observed that attendance in program workshops was better among the out-of-school teens enrolled in the on-site GED course. Once teens arrived for their classes, they remained for other program activities. It is important to note, however, that GED attendance was much lower than attendance at the regular public schools by the in-school teens. (See Table 3.5.)

Not surprisingly, attendance in Project Redirection activities at the school-based sites was closely related to their level of school attendance. Participation in after-school, evening or weekend workshops tended to be less consistent. Overall, the school-based sites achieved somewhat higher workshop attendance rates than the agency sites (Table 3.6), but much of this difference reflects the experience of the El Paso site. The other school-based sites were less successful in sustaining high rates (Table 3.5).

Not all attendance problems were caused by transportation and home problems. In some cases, absenteeism simply reflected a lack of motivation. Indeed, staff members at several sites observed that attendance

varied with the weather -- it was lowest on very cold and very warm days. Poor attendance probably also reflected the irresponsibility typical of many adolescents.

Another factor to remember is that many of the teens enrolled in Project Redirection had only a tenuous attachment to the educational system and to other goals that the program was trying to promote. This was the real reason for trying to involve them in the program in the first place. That doing so would be a challenge is not surprising.

## V. Length of Stay in Project Redirection and Reasons for Termination

Among teens who ever became active in the second Project Redirection demonstration (i.e., those who had any IPP worksheets) and who entered the program by May 31, 1984 (thus allowing up to 11 months of participation and data collection), the average length of stay was 7.6 months. (See Table 3.7.) This average was as low as 5.5 months in St. Louis and reached a high of 11.7 months in Atlanta. The average length of stay in the school-based sites was 7.0 months (Table 3.8), only slightly shorter than the average for the agency sites (8.2 months). The distribution pattern shows that about 30 percent of the teens left the program within three months and about half left within six months. Over one-quarter remained longer than a year.

Teens' length of stay in the second demonstration is somewhat lower than that found in the original Redirection sites, where the teens in this sample stayed on average almost 10 months.[14] To examine reasons for this difference, the average lengths of stay for the two demonstrations were compared, again controlling the teens' background characteristics at

TABLE 2.7

DISTRIBUTION OF TEENS' LENGTH OF STAY IN PROJECT REDIRECTION, BY SITE

| Length of Stay | School-Based Sites | | | | Community Agencies | | | All Sites |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | St. Louis | Brooklyn | El Paso | Albuquerque | Atlanta | Cleveland | Greenville | |
| 3 Months or Less | 52.8 | 29.2 | 10.8 | 24.1 | 0.0 | 46.3 | 11.9 | 29.8 |
| 4 - 6 Months | 18.9 | 37.5 | 16.2 | 27.6 | 9.5 | 20.4 | 23.5 | 21.4 |
| 7 - 9 Months | 5.7 | 16.7 | 29.7 | 17.2 | 19.0 | 5.6 | 23.5 | 15.1 |
| 10 - 12 Months | 5.7 | 8.3 | 5.4 | 10.3 | 9.5 | 7.4 | 11.8 | 7.9 |
| More Than 12 Months | 17.0 | 8.3 | 37.8 | 20.7 | 61.9 | 20.4 | 29.4 | 25.8 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Average Stay (Months) | 5.5 | 5.6 | 8.8 | 7.8 | 11.7 | 8.4 | 8.1 | 7.6 |
| Number of Participants | 53 | 24 | 37 | 29 | 21 | 54 | 34 | 252 |

SOURCE: MDRC calculations from Participant Enrollment and Status Change Forms in the Project Redirection Information System.

NOTES: Sample includes all teens with any IPP Worksheets who enrolled through June 30, 1984. This allows for a minimum possible stay of 12 months before the end of data collection for this analysis.

Distributions may not add exactly to 100.0 percent because of rounding.

TABLE 3.8

DISTRIBUTION OF TEENS' LENGTH OF STAY IN PROJECT REDIRECTION, BY DEMONSTRATION AND TYPE OF PROGRAM SPONSOR

| Length of Stay | Second Demonstration | | | First Demonstration |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | School-Based Sites | Community Agencies | All Sites | All Sites |
| 3 Months or Less | 32.2 | 25.6 | 29.8 | 17.4 |
| 4 - 6 Months | 23.1 | 19.3 | 21.4 | 25.7 |
| 7 - 9 Months | 16.1 | 13.9 | 15.1 | 18.6 |
| 10 - 12 Months | 7.0 | 9.2 | 7.9 | 12.9 |
| More Than 12 Months | 21.7 | 31.2 | 25.8 | 25.5 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Average Stay (Months) | 7.0 | 8.2 | 7.6 | 8.5 |
| Number of Participants | 143 | 109 | 252 | 420 |

SOURCE: MDRC calculations from Participant Enrollment and Status Change Forms in the Project Redirection Information System.

NOTES: Sample for the second demonstration includes teer with any IPP Worksheets who enrolled in Project Redirection through June 30, 1984. This allows for a minimum possible stay of 12 months before the end of data collection for this analysis.

Sample for the first demonstration includes teens with any IPP worksheets who enrolled in Project Redirection by December 31, 1981. This allows for a minimum possible stay of 12 months before the end of data collection for this analysis.

Distributions may not add exactly to 100.0 percent because of rounding.

enrollment. The analysis found that the difference remained statistically significant.[15]

Reasons for the shorter length of stay are not obvious. It may reflect unmeasured characteristics of the teens that could not be captured by the data for this study, or it may have been caused by some variation in the circumstances under which the two demonstrations were operated. Another possibility is the lack of a stipend in the second demonstration. If this were a factor, one would expect a longer tenure for the teens in the Cleveland program, the only site to provide such stipends. In fact, Cleveland's length of stay was 6.4 months.

Of all teens in the second demonstration who left Project Redirection by the end of data collection (including those without IPP worksheets), almost half were terminated because they failed to comply with one or more program requirements; another 16 percent simply ended their contact with the program. (See Table 3.9.) These reasons similarly accounted for over half of the terminations in the first demonstration (Branch et al., 1984). About 12 percent in the second demonstration left for positive reasons: that is, they completed school or earned their GEDs, found a full-time job, or were judged by staff as no longer needing the program.

## VI. Program Costs

Data available from the sites permitted a limited analysis of program costs, as specified in the research design. Operating expenses were reported to MDRC by each site on a bi-monthly basis, using standard forms. These included expenses incurred directly by Project Redirection, such as salary and fringe benefits for program staff; stipends paid to community

TABLE 3.9

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TEENS' REASONS FOR LEAVING PROJECT REDIRECTION, BY SITE

| Reason | School-Based Sites | | | | Community Agencies | | | All Sites |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | St. Louis | Brooklyn | El Paso | Albuquerque | Atlanta | Cleveland | Greenville | |
| Dissatisfied with Program | 1.4 | 2.5 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.6 |
| Moving from Area | 4.3 | 10.0 | 13.0 | 18.2 | 21.1 | 1.4 | 11.6 | 9.1 |
| No Longer Needs Program | 0.0 | 2.5 | 17.4 | 9.1 | 5.3 | 1.4 | 14.0 | 5.5 |
| Lost Contact/Never Participated | 11.6 | 20.0 | 34.8 | 40.9 | 21.1 | 2.9 | 4.7 | 16.2 |
| Parental Pressure to Leave | 0.0 | 5.0 | 0.0 | 2.3 | 0.0 | 1.4 | 0.0 | 1.3 |
| End of Pregnancy | 0.0 | 5.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 5.3 | 1.4 | 2.3 | 1.6 |
| Failure to Meet Program Requirements | 68.1 | 37.5 | 26.1 | 9.1 | 26.3 | 85.7 | 23.3 | 47.7 |
| Completed School | 11.6 | 2.5 | 4.3 | 11.4 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 4.9 |
| Started Working Full Time | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.4 | 11.6 | 1.9 |
| Other | 2.9 | 15.0 | 4.3 | 9.1 | 21.1 | 4.3 | 32.6 | 11.0 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number of Participants | 69 | 40 | 23 | 44 | 19 | 70 | 43 | 308 |

SOURCE: MDRC calculations from Participant Status Change Forms in the Project Redirection Information System.

NOTES: Sample includes all teens who left Project Redirection by June 30, 1985.

Distributions may not add exactly to 100.0 percent because of rounding.

women (and, in Cleveland, to teens); and non-personnel expenditures, such as rent, telephone and office supplies. As in the original demonstrations, these records did not cover the costs incurred by other organizations that provided services to Redirection teens, except when delivered under contract to the program. For example, the costs of life management classes and counseling services regularly offered by the schools were not included.

Because of the use of outside services and other data limitations, it was difficult to determine site expenditures with precision.[16] A range of estimates is thus presented for each site -- and for all sites combined. These should be viewed as not exact, but a rough approximation of the true costs of operating the program.

In addition, two types of estimates are offered: the average cost per participant, based on teens' average length of stay in the program; and the average cost per service year, or the cost of keeping one teen in the program for one year.[17] When all sites are considered together, the average cost per participant is estimated to be from $1,000 to $2,000, while the cost per service year is between $2,000 and $3,000. Per participant costs are lower because teens, on average, remained in the program for less than one year.

Both of these estimates are lower than those found for the original sites, although comparisons must be made cautiously because of differences in available data. In the first demonstration, where the teens' length of stay was somewhat longer, the cost per participant was just over $3,500 (Branch et al., 1984). The cost per service year was slightly over $3,800.

Across sites, program costs in the second demonstration varied considerably. In St. Louis, per participant costs were less than $1,000

per year. In three of the sites -- Brooklyn, Atlanta and Cleveland -- they ranged from $1,000 to $2,000. For Albuquerque, El Paso and Mississippi, the cost was between $2,000 and $3,000.

Each site's cost per service year is higher than its per participant expenditures. Per service year costs were estimated to be from $1,000 to $2,000 for Atlanta, $2,000 to $3,000 for St. Louis and El Paso, and $3,000 to $4,000 for Cleveland, Albuquerque, Brooklyn and Mississippi.

## CHAPTER 4

## EMPLOYMENT-RELATED SERVICES

### I. Approaches to Employability Services

As with almost all Project Redirection services, the employability activities of the second demonstration were informed by the experiences of the first program. Prompted by research indicating the interest of teen mothers in working, the first Redirection demonstration began with the clear intention of focusing on employment issues. Program operators were to develop activities to teach teens about available occupational choices and to start preparing them to look for and hold regular jobs. Whenever possible and appropriate, given the teens' young age and their circumstances, the sites were also to offer them work experience and job placement.

In diverse ways, the four sites in the first demonstration did carry out much of this mandate (Branch et al., 1984), but for a number of reasons, the employability component was an initially difficult one to develop. At the outset, staff at some sites resisted making employment preparation a program priority. Viewing education as a critical prerequisite to employment -- and also as a more appropriate activity for this age group -- many staff members believed that the first order of business was for teens to finish school. Consequently, in the early stages, most sites downplayed employability issues in favor of school attendance and obtaining academic skills. This decision also reflected the primarily social services background of staff members, who were less

familiar with the design and delivery of employment services than of others prescribed in the program model.

Gradually, as other parts of the program operation began to fall into place, the sites were able to devote more attention to employability services. However, they discovered the communities offered few employment-related programs and activities suitable for the young Redirection population. (Existing services were for the most part targeted to older teens, to those with high school diplomas or GEDs, and to individuals not burdened with parental responsibilities.) As a result, the first-round sites had to take a more direct role in providing employment services than had been envisioned in the original program model.

One original site, the Phoenix program, developed a very substantial set of employment-related activities. The Employment and Training Component, as it was called, was open to Project Redirection teens between the ages of 17 and 19. The component first offered participants an introduction to the world of work through a week-long session held at the Redirection facility. This orientation was followed by an assessment of the teens' vocational interests and skills and the development of individualized employability plans. Participants then received an average of 20 weeks of skills training at one of four training centers in the community. The training was scheduled as a full-time activity, five days a week.

Phoenix, however, was the exception; most sites had more difficulty implementing this component. Nevertheless, over the course of the first demonstration, several insights that were later to guide service provision arrangements in the second program began to crystallize. First, staff found that the age of participants had considerable bearing on the kinds of

services they needed. For younger teens, who were not likely to have held even summer jobs, employment was a distant concern. This group was given a full introduction to the world of work and the issues involved. Some older teens also required this approach, but they were nearing an age when many youths enter the labor market, and the program had more of a reason to focus on preparation for jobs. Work experience and job placements were more realistic possibilities for these teens than for their younger counterparts.

Second, as sites assumed the responsibility for providing employment services, they discovered the lack of appropriate materials with which to teach them. Available teaching aides did not take into account the special needs of teen parents, and they were often written at a level and in a style that was beyond the reach of the teens.

Third, even though staff found that the teens were receptive to the idea of work, many participants failed to make the key connection between future job success and the need to do well in school. Teens would announce their objectives as good jobs, but would nevertheless exhibit poor school attitudes and behavior. Moreover, staff discovered that, especially among the younger teens, employability activities and topics could be less engaging than the parenting workshops that were more relevant to their immediate concerns.

In recognition of these challenges, which were only partially met in the first demonstration, the second set of sites began with a resolve to provide a more focused and concentrated employability component. As detailed in the next section, sites took special care -- through their decisions about the component's format, scheduling and incentives -- to

maximize participation in employability workshops. Closely following the lead of the original demonstration, staff developed a two-tiered structure of instruction determined by the age of participants. All teens were offered a basic orientation to the world of work, but older teens were more directly pointed to employment. They were also given first priority for job placements.

In addition, to address the failure of many teens to recognize the importance of good academic performance, sites in the second demonstration placed increased emphasis on the role-modeling potential of community women. Citing the home and community backgrounds of many teens -- where work, if there was any, was typically low-skilled and school success was not taken seriously -- staff in the second demonstration were more apt to recruit community women with professional backgrounds and positive school and employment experiences. As discussed in Chapter 2, a high proportion of community women in the second demonstration had advanced degrees and came to the program after work hours.

Central to the intensified effort to provide appropriate employability activities were the resources provided by a special grant awarded by the Office of Adolescent Pregnancy Programs (OAPP) of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. MDRC applied for the OAPP grant out of a conviction that the challenge of employability programming was such that the sites needed additional technical assistance and support to develop and carry it out.

Funds from the OAPP grant supported three sets of activities. First, because sites wanted to avail themselves of useful outside services and to adapt them, as needed, to the requirements of teen parents, each site was

given funds to purchase such services. These included employability workshops, career counseling, skills training and work experience slots, as well as ancillary services like transportation and child care to enable teens to take part in the activities.

Second, MDRC engaged a consultant experienced in preparing curricula directed to adolescent parents to work with the sites to design and write an employability manual from the point of view of the Project Redirection population. The guide, Training for Transition, was given to the sites in the spring of 1984 with the request that they field test it over the balance of the demonstration period. In general, the site response to the manual was positive.

The third activity facilitated by OAPP funds was a conference sponsored by MDRC to assist the sites in obtaining funds from the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA). The conference also gave sites the opportunity to share more general insights on the delivery and support of employment-related services.

Supplied with the guide, other technical assistance and the ability to purchase services, the sites embarked on a more ambitious round of employability workshops, vocational counseling and job placements than had been possible in the first demonstration. The following section describes their experiences in more detail.

## II. Employability Activities

### A. Employability Workshops

Tables 4.1 through 4.3 (Panel A) give an overview of teens' participation in employability activities at each site. Table 4.1 indicates the

TABLE 4.1

A. PERCENT OF TEENS WHO EVER PARTICIPATED IN EMPLOYMENT-RELATED ACTIVITIES, BY SITE

| Activity | School-Based Sites | | | | Community Agencies | | | All Sites |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | St. Louis | Brooklyn | El Paso | Albuquerque | Atlanta | Cleveland | Greenville | |
| World of Work Seminars | 84.3 | 85.7 | 82.8 | 39.1 | 85.3 | 72.0 | 80.6 | 70.7 |
| Individual Vocational Counseling | 59.9 | 42.9 | 50.0 | 91.3 | 52.9 | 2.7 | 3.8 | 43.0 |
| Job Training | 0.0 | 0.0 | 71.7 | 23.9 | 8.8 | 4.0 | 1.9 | 14.0 |
| Any Employability Activity | 89.2 | 88.6 | 91.3 | 91.3 | 87.7 | 78.3 | 80.8 | 82.8 |
| Number of Participants | 83 | 85 | 46 | 46 | 84 | 75 | 53 | 372 |

B. PERCENT OF TEENS WHO EVER PARTICIPATED IN EMPLOYMENT-RELATED ACTIVITIES, BY DEMONSTRATION AND TYPE OF PROGRAM SPONSOR

| Activity | Second Demonstration | | | First Demonstration |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | School-Based Sites | Community Agencies | All Sites | All Sites |
| World of Work Seminars | 71.0 | 70.4 | 70.7 | 82.8 |
| Individual Vocational Counseling | 65.7 | 19.6 | 43.0 | 55.0 |
| Job Training | 21.4 | 4.3 | 14.0 | 21.7 |
| Any Employability Activity | 86.7 | 77.8 | 82.8 | 88.4 |
| Number of Participants | 210 | 162 | 372 | 180 |

SOURCE: MDRC Calculations from weekly IPP Worksheets in Project Redirection Information System.

NOTES: Sample for the second demonstration includes all teens with any IPP Worksheets who enrolled in Project Redirection through December 31, 1984. Data cover participation in activities from enrollment through April 30, 1985.

Sample for the first demonstration includes all teens with any IPP Worksheets who enrolled in Project Redirection during January 1, 1982 through August 31, 1982. Data cover participation in activities from enrollment through December 31, 1982.

[a]Includes regular public school, GED programs and alternative schools.

TABLE 4.2

A. AVERAGE NUMBER OF HOURS TEENS SPENT IN EMPLOYMENT-RELATED ACTIVITIES, BY SITE

| Activity | School-Based Sites | | | | Community Agencies | | | All Sites |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | St. Louis | Brooklyn | El Paso | Albuquerque | Atlanta | Cleveland | Greenville | |
| World of Work Seminars | 18.2 | 11.7 | 10.8 | 1.0 | 17.1 | 7.8 | 42.8 | 15.8 |
| Individual Vocational Counseling | 17.3 | 1.1 | 1.5 | 11.0 | 2.5 | 0.2 | 0.3 | 5.7 |
| Job Training | 0.0 | 0.0 | 155.5 | 11.8 | 11.1 | 1.7 | 8.5 | 25.4 |
| Any Employability Activity | 35.7 | 12.8 | 168.7 | 23.8 | 30.7 | 9.1 | 51.6 | 47.7 |
| Number of Participants | 63 | 24 | 35 | 28 | 18 | 49 | 34 | 242 |

B. AVERAGE NUMBER OF HOURS TEENS SPENT IN EMPLOYMENT-RELATED ACTIVITIES, BY DEMONSTRATION AND TYPE OF PROGRAM SPONSOR

| Activity | Second Demonstration | | | First Demonstration |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | School-Based Sites | Community Agencies | All Sites | All Sites |
| World of Work Seminars | 11.8 | 21.0 | 15.8 | 8.3 |
| Individual Vocational Counseling | 3.3 | 0.6 | 5.7 | 7.3 |
| Job Training | 41.3 | 5.8 | 26.4 | 84.8 |
| Any Employability Activity | 52.4 | 27.3 | 47.7 | 51.2 |
| Number of Participants | 141 | 101 | 242 | 144 |

SOURCE: MDRC calculations from weekly IPP Worksheets in the Project Redirection Information System.

NOTES: Sample for the second demonstration includes all teens with any IPP Worksheets who enrolled in Project Redirection through May 31, 1984. Data cover participation in activities from enrollment through April 30, 1985.

Sample for the first demonstration includes all teens with any IPP Worksheets who enrolled in Project Redirection during January 1, 1982 through June 30, 1982. Data cover participation in activities from enrollment through March 31, 1983.

TABLE 4.3

A. TEENS' AVERAGE ATTENDANCE RATES IN EMPLOYMENT-RELATED ACTIVITIES, BY SITE

| Activity | School-Based Sites | | | | Community Agencies | | | All Sites |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | St. Louis | Brooklyn | El Paso | Albuquerque | Atlanta | Cleveland | Greenville | |
| World of Work Seminars | 52.3 | 44.0 | 87.2 | 42.2 | 88.9 | 51.8 | 40.0 | 53.4 |
| Individual Vocational Counseling | 56.4 | 69.1 | 82.7 | 92.5 | 94.7 | 86.7 | 20.2 | 74.3 |
| Job Training | N/A[a] | 33.3 | 78.0 | 83.8 | 77.8 | 98.4 | 100.0 | 75.6 |
| Any Employability Activity | 55.4 | 44.3 | 78.7 | 77.0 | 88.6 | 53.1 | 40.4 | 59.4 |

B. TEENS' AVERAGE ATTENDANCE RATES IN EMPLOYMENT-RELATED ACTIVITIES, BY DEMONSTRATION AND TYPE OF PROGRAM SPONSOR

| Activity | Second Demonstration | | | First Demonstration |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | School-Based Sites | Community Agencies | All Sites | All Sites |
| World of Work Seminars | 56.8 | 49.2 | 53.4 | 61.8 |
| Individual Vocational Counseling | 72.8 | 82.4 | 74.3 | 85.1 |
| Job Training | 73.5 | 88.8 | 75.6 | 83.4 |
| Any Employability Activity | 63.3 | 54.3 | 59.4 | 67.2 |

SOURCE: MDRC calculations from weekly IPP Worksheets in the Project Redirection Information System.

NOTES: Sample for the second demonstration includes all teens with any IPP Worksheets who enrolled in Project Redirection through December 31, 1984. Data cover participation in activities from enrollment through April 30, 1985.

Sample for the first demonstration includes all teens with any IPP Worksheets who enrolled in Project Redirection during January 1, 1982 through August 31, 1982. Data cover participation in activities from enrollment through December 31, 1982.

The attendance rate for each activity is obtained by dividing the total number of days, sessions or visits that teens actually attended by the total number they were scheduled to attend. Teens never scheduled for a given activity are excluded from the sample on which the attendance rate is based.

[a]Not applicable because no job training activities were available in St. Louis.

proportion of teens who ever took part in these activities, while Table 4.2 shows the average number of hours teens spent in the component. Table 4.3 presents attendance rates: teens' actual hours in employment-related activities divided by the number of scheduled hours.[1]

Panel A of Table 4.1 shows that the world-of-work seminars were the most widely used employability activity in the demonstration. Four sites reached over 70 percent of their teens with these workshops, using a variety of strategies to do so. Some sites drew on internal school or agency staff, while others contracted to outside organizations. Atlanta, St. Louis and Albuquerque purchased the time of staff members in their sponsoring agencies who were already responsible for employment activities provided to other projects, while El Paso let a subcontract to the Women's Employment and Education organization. MACE combined both strategies, assigning a Project Redirection employment specialist to work with staff from the Coahoma Community College.

The school-based sites all held employability workshops in school settings. Albuquerque gave Redirection teens the opportunity to take an elective class open to the school's broader teen parent population. Brooklyn's workshops were scheduled after school in the Project Redirection office. Designed primarily for Redirection participants, other teens (including the fathers) were also invited to attend. As noted in the previous chapter, MACE scheduled its employability workshops at its Teen Parent Center, and Atlanta ultimately placed them in the public schools.

Cleveland alone held all of employability workshops away from the center of school activity, although El Paso scheduled Saturday sessions at the YWCA, which could be attended by teens who had returned to their home

schools. Monthly workshops were also held at the community college assisting the Greenville site.

Like their settings, the frequency of workshop sessions also varied. MACE, with a strong employment and training emphasis growing out of its JTPA funding, held employability workshops four times a week. Albuquerque and St. Louis ran workshops daily as a regular school class. The other sites usually operated them on a weekly or biweekly basis.

The topics covered in the workshops were typically those used in world-of-work preparation -- career exploration, job search and interviewing techniques. However, the sites also took particular care to select topics that would interest participants and to focus on the special needs of adolescent mothers; they discussed such subjects as budgeting, managing daily activities, and balancing the competing demands of work and children. Sites also placed a good deal of emphasis on grooming and the appropriate dress for work. Brooklyn included a short series on "Dressing on a Shoe-String" and took teens on shopping excursions to teach them how to buy economically. Albuquerque formed a clothing bank and the donated articles helped teens to prepare for interviews and work.

The workshops also focused on communication skills. Some sites had teens view videotapes of themselves. "It's important to show them how they look," said one staff member. Another commented, "Most of these teens can't speak properly to an employer. They have to learn that street language is inappropriate in the workplace."

The sites also experimented with the use of incentives to enhance workshop participation. Teens in Albuquerque and those in Atlanta who attended the alternative school received academic credit for the sessions,

and monetary incentives were available in Atlanta and El Paso. Other sites gave priority for jobs to teens who were regular workshop participants.

B. Vocational Counseling

Vocational counseling was the other widely used employment-related strategy. As a rule, agency sites provided this service in a group format, while at the school-based sites, vocational counseling was mostly provided by regular school vocational or guidance counselors.

In Albuquerque and Atlanta, counseling balanced the lower utilization of employability workshops (Table 4.1). Albuquerque, in particular, relied on vocational counseling as its vehicle to deliver employability knowledge since it was routinely scheduled for all those enrolled in the New Futures School. In Atlanta, individual counseling was supplied by staff from the YWCA's JTPA program.

C. Job Training

Because most sites were unable to locate training providers suitable for the Redirection population, skills training was not a regularly scheduled activity except in the El Paso and Albuquerque programs (Table 4.1). At these two sites, when appropriate resources were available, staff felt that job training was an excellent way to provide teens with marketable skills and to develop their sense of self-worth and responsibility.

El Paso designed its training activity specifically for Redirection enrollees. Starting with a survey of teens' interests, staff found that many wanted to work with children. Guided by these results, they developed a 1984 summer program in cooperation with the El Paso YWCA to provide day-care aide training to 19 teens. Trainees received classroom instruction in child-care theory for two days a week and, during the other three days,

they took part in an on-the-job training activity at a YWCA day-care center. The course used a standard curriculum for day-care employees, and teens who completed the summer sequence received a certificate for 100 hours of training and were eligible for available jobs in the YWCA centers. While in the program, trainees were given transportation money and day care for their own children, and at its conclusion received $200 each. (In summer 1985, El Paso planned to offer similar training in computer-related skills through a local technical college.)

Largely reflecting this successful instruction, El Paso had an overall record of placing almost three-quarters of its teens in training. The average time teens spent in the training (based on the whole sample) was 157 hours. (See Tables 4.1 and 4.2.)

When the demonstration began, Albuquerque's New Futures School was already providing subsidized work experience to older teens who met JTPA eligibility requirements and could also cope with the dual responsibilities of school and work. The slots were funded by the local JTPA agency and a community development block grant. In this case, the OAPP funds gave the New Futures School flexibility to extend the work experience option to Redirection participants.

In all, Albuquerque provided 24 percent of its Redirection enrollees with work experience (Table 4.1). On average, teens spent 12 hours in this activity and had a 64 percent average rate of attendance (Tables 4.2 and 4.3). The types of placements varied. While none required a high degree of skills, a few (such as vacuum cleaner repair and a printing press operator) were non-traditional. Day care, retail sales and clerical jobs, however, predominated.

Another strategy was "job shadowing," used in St. Louis. Teens involved in this activity were assigned to watch workers performing duties in jobs that interested them. Because actual work was not performed, teens were not paid for this activity.

D. Comparisons With the First Demonstration

Overall, 83 percent of participants in the second demonstration received some kind of employability service. Panel B of Table 4.1 compares this rate with that of a sample of teens in the first demonstration who had at least four months of follow-up. It shows that the newer sites increased the proportion of teens who ever received employability services to 83 percent over the 69 percent attained by their predecessors.[2]

Panel B of Table 4.2 indicates that teens in the second demonstration, on average, spent slightly less time in "any employability activity" -- 48 hours versus 51 hours[3] -- although it should be remembered that teens in the newer sites were enrolled in Project Redirection for a somewhat shorter period. Somewhat more of the teens' time was spent in world-of- work seminars, while less time was devoted to job training and individual counseling. Panel B of Table 4.3 shows, however, that the attendance rate in employability activities was generally higher in the first demonstration.

Within the original demonstration, much of the activity in the area of employability is accounted for by the Phoenix program. As explained earlier in this chapter, that site had developed an ambitious employment and training component in which a good number of teens took part in a full-time, 20-week program of skills training. Because Phoenix was unusual in this respect, a supplemental analysis was conducted to compare the newer

sites to the original ones, excluding Phoenix. When this was done, the average amount of time teens spent in "any employability activity" was found to be significantly higher in the newer sites -- 48 hours versus 18 hours.[4] Moreover, when all of the sites are compared individually, the averages of the three original sites were exceeded by those of five of the seven newer sites. (Brooklyn and Cleveland were the exceptions to this pattern.) This service gain can be attributed to the fact that more activities were scheduled in the second demonstration than the first -- generally the same pattern found for life management activities.

III. Participant Employment

In deciding how to handle job placements, program operators were keenly aware of several, sometimes competing, considerations. While they knew only too well how teens could benefit from the income from paid employment, they also recognized the difficulties teens would face in handling the simultaneous responsibilities of school, parenting and work.

Site staff also realized that they would have to contend with some negative employer attitudes about hiring disadvantaged youths. The young age of participants and the fact that Project Redirection teens were pregnant or mothers of young children could only heighten their reluctance. Many employers would expect teen parents to be absent when their children were ill or if child care was unavailable, and others were concerned about pregnant teens in the workplace. Some were not covered by any insurance for workers under 18 years of age.

Notwithstanding all of these obstacles, staff recognized that work experience would be one of the best ways to prepare teens to enter the

labor market after high school graduation. However, they regarded world-of-work seminars and job training courses as prerequisites to placement in jobs. Thus, as previously noted, job placement priority went to the older teens, those nearing high school graduation or GED completion, and those judged mature enough to handle work along with their other responsibilities. In contrast, summer jobs were made available to a wider group of teens, although those scheduled to attend summer school were not selected for positions.

Albuquerque, Greenville and Cleveland made extensive use of full wage subsidies, which are generally considered useful to encourage employers to provide work experience to disadvantaged youths. For example, Albuquerque drew on a combination of funds to pay the minimum wages of Redirection participants who were placed in jobs after the successful completion of 10 sessions in their world-of-work classes. The Cleveland YWCA, using funds provided by the OAPP grant, employed 17 Redirection teens in its administrative headquarters for a seven-week period over the summer. Ten of these teens entered training in the YWCA's adolescent pregnancy prevention program to learn how to become counselors. The others were assigned to a variety of duties including filing, bookkeeping and photocopying. Priority for these slots was given to high school graduates, pregnant teens and those who had good attendance in employability seminars. Cleveland also paid the minimum wage.[5]

Greenville had the most success with subsidized placements. Those teens who attended MACE's four-day-a-week world-of-work classes regularly and performed well became candidates for placement in fully subsidized, part-time jobs paying the minimum wage in the private sector, which it was

hoped would result in permanent, unsubsidized hiring. MACE was able to place 15 teens in such jobs, 11 of which evolved into permanent positions.

Summer Youth Employment Programs offered by local JTPA agencies were the second most widely used source of work experience positions. All of the sites referred some of their participants in these jobs during school vacations. However, these jobs were in great demand so JTPA agencies in several communities where Project Redirection was operating selected participants by a lottery system. Thus, while Redirection staff sent a good number of teens to the local JTPA agency, only a few actually obtained jobs.

Some teens secured jobs on their own. When teens were employed during the school year, site staff closely monitored their academic performance, reminding them that acceptable scholastic performance should be their first priority.

Thirty-six percent of the teens in the second demonstration -- 159 young women in total -- secured employment during their stay in the program.[6] This ranged from a low of 13 percent in El Paso to over 50 percent in Albuquerque, Greenville and Brooklyn. St. Louis and Atlanta had rates of 19 percent and 43 percent, respectively. Overall, the employment rate was close to that of the first demonstration in which 39 percent of the sample used for comparison purposes had become employed.[7]

## IV. The Demonstration and JTPA

With JTPA the primary source of federally-funded training services for the disadvantaged, a natural question is how well the demonstration sites were able to tap into its resources. Generally, the sites did not make

very extensive use of JTPA during this period, primarily because of its funding requirements. JTPA generally emphasizes a high rate of placements after program completion, an emphasis that tends to discourage funded agencies from serving individuals who will have difficulty finding unsubsidized employment, even after program assistance. Cleveland Redirection staff, for example, applied for JTPA funding from Cuyahoga County, but they were rejected because the program was not expected to achieve the targeted placement rate by the end of its grant. The parent agencies of both the Atlanta and Albuquerque sites already had JTPA funds when the demonstration began, but were unable to use this funding source for Redirection activities.

Some exceptions to this general pattern could be found. Brooklyn referred a few participants to a special JTPA-funded summer employment program for pregnant teens; Atlanta used individual counseling funded by a JTPA-supported YWCA program; and the Summer Youth Employment Program jobs were scattered throughout the sites. The most notable exception was Greenville which, as discussed earlier, gained JTPA support for Project Redirection by narrowing its eligibility criteria.

If OAPP and other funding sources had not been available to the sites during the demonstration period, it appears unlikely that JTPA by itself could have met Redirection's needs for employability services. An important question is whether this situation can change in the future, when the sites no longer enjoy demonstration status.

One clue to the answer may be a trend toward the broadening of youth program guidelines among JTPA agencies. Although only used minimally during the period when the sites first sought funding, JTPA regulations do

include some opportunities for programs serving disadvantaged teen parents to obtain resources. For example, there are regulations that ask local agencies distributing JTPA funds to develop a set of "youth competencies" to measure performance based on a system of "benchmarks" -- measures such as "passing three employer interviews" or "correctly spelling selected words." These competencies can satisfy JTPA placement goals, if the JTPA steering committee so allows. JTPA also allows states and administering agencies to set aside a small percentage of funds to serve particularly difficult categories of individuals, and teen parents are one of the groups specifically named.

There are some indications that JTPA agencies are more likely to avail themselves of these optional measures today than they were at the onset of the second demonstration. The sites' prospects for using JTPA funds during the post-demonstration period are discussed further in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER 5

## THE PROCESS OF INSTITUTIONALIZATION

A main objective in the second demonstration has been to study the Redirection sites' experiences in institutionalizing their programs. As used here, the term "institutionalization" means that a program has become an established part of a larger agency or system or has itself become an independent agency, and is supported by operating funds that are expected to continue.

This chapter first reports on the standing of each of the sites at the end of the study period. It then examines the major obstacles to institutionalization and discusses the key strategies sites used in their attempts to overcome them. Their experiences may be useful to other programs who are seeking stable and permanent funding.

### I. The Objective

All sites entered the demonstration with the goal of eventual institutionalization, and they pursued this objective throughout the two-year period. At the outset, this goal was partly sustained by the encouraging interim findings from the first demonstration. As discussed in Chapter 1, the comprehensive program approach seemed feasible to operate, and the sites in that first round were able to recruit a sufficient number of teens and community women. The analysis comparing Project Redirection teens to a matched group of comparison teens had found that, by 12 months after program entry, Redirection teens had better educational and employability

outcomes and fewer subsequent pregnancies.

The final results of the first demonstration became available in late 1984 -- well after the second demonstration was under way. While the operational experience of the program was still promising, the impact findings were less encouraging. The research showed that many of the positive effects of the program observed at 12 months had dissipated by the 24-month point, when the teens were no longer in the program. (However, longer-term effects did persist for some subgroups, particularly in the educational area.)

These findings did not weaken the commitment of the sites or sponsoring agencies in the second demonstration to seek institutionalization of Project Redirection, in whole or in part. In the impact study, the young women to whom Project Redirection teens were compared were themselves served at a fairly high level by other teen programs, although without the community woman component and the other supports that Redirection offers. Thus, the Redirection test was a conservative one, measuring only the incremental effects of the Redirection approach over the variety of other service mixes provided to comparison teens. The effectiveness of Redirection services compared to no services at all -- or only minimal services, as program planners had intended -- could not be determined.

Still, almost half of the teens in both the Redirection and comparison samples of the first demonstration had become pregnant again by the 24-month point, and over half had dropped out of school. These findings clearly imply that, for both groups, a stronger intervention is needed.

The intention of the second demonstration sites to pursue institutionalization expressed their commitment to assist a group clearly in need of

assistance. In their view, Project Redirection was a vehicle for delivering important services to pregnant and parenting teens but was not a static model. The most effective ways of providing services are expected to evolve on the basis of continued experience in working with this population.

Thus, this analysis of institutionalization is concerned less with the future of the Redirection model as originally designed than with the lessons it can produce about building a stable environment for ongoing programs targeted to this population. In the area of social policy, as in many others, new ideas tried in the context of a demonstration or pilot project often disappear at the conclusion of a short-term funding commitment. The process of obtaining ongoing support is frequently long and difficult, and success depends on more than the merits of the idea itself. For this reason, it is useful to examine the obstacles and the strategies they adopted in a process aimed toward institutionalization.

For this study, such an examination was possible because sites initiated early efforts to achieve this objective. However, it is important to note that, as expected, this process was not completed by the demonstration's conclusion. Although the story reported here is therefore unfinished, the experiences of the sites during this observation period offer useful lessons about conditions that aid or impede progress toward long-term financial support for new service programs.

## II. The Prospects for Institutionalization

As of the summer of 1985, the prospects for long-term funding commitments varied across the sites but overall were quite promising. In only

one site -- Albuquerque -- were funding arrangements for the coming year still in progress at the time of this writing. Long-term commitments were actively being sought, and the prospects appeared positive. In the meantime, New Futures was able to use a small amount of money from its Title XX Social Services Block Grant, along with resources from the Albuquerque Community Foundation, to continue the project for several months while these additional funds were being pursued.

While funding arrangements are quite diverse, the pattern of institutionalization generally shows that the sites have developed three broad sources of support: public, private, or a combination of both. In two sites, El Paso and St. Louis, Redirection will operate primarily with government funds. Cleveland, Atlanta and Brooklyn are expected to depend mostly on philanthropic contributions, such as allocations from the United Way and other private grants to the sponsoring agencies. The Greenville site will rely on a combination of public and private resources. While some of its operating funds are expected to come from government sources, especially JTPA, it will be necessary for the privately-funded sponsoring agency to continue to assume the overhead costs if the program is to survive.

A. Publicly-Based Institutionalization

1. El Paso

Of all the sites, the El Paso program has secured the largest amount of suport for continued operations nd expansion. In the late spring of 1985, the Texas Department of Human Resources chose the project to become part of a five-year state demonstration program for pregnant and parenting adolescents. With a commitment of $500,000 a year, for five

years (contingent on progress after the first year), Project Redirection will grow from a single-site program covering only one of seven school districts in El Paso to a multi-site program serving teens in almost all areas of the county. The project will be administered by the El Paso YWCA.

The Department of Human Resources initiated the state demonstration and partially funds it, but support also comes from other agencies: the Texas Education Agency, the Department of Health, and the Department of Community Affairs (which administers JTPA and community development block grants). The long-range goal of the Department of Human Resources -- toward which the multi-year demonstration is aimed -- is to develop a statewide teen parent program, with ongoing support specified in the state's budget. Perceiving that teenage mothers are the fastest growing segment of the welfare caseload in Texas, Department officials continue the Redirection objectives of helping teens to complete their education or to attain sufficient training to become employable, thus reducing their need for welfare.

With substantial resources thus committed for several years, the site took a major step toward long-term survival. But it has not yet become institutionalized, in the strict sense of the term, since funding comes from a time-limited pilot project grant. In effect, the question of the El Paso program's more permanent institutionalization has been deferred for the time being. Yet, the project's expansion over the next few years surely enhances its prospects for long-term support.

2. St. Louis

The fate of the St. Louis Project Redirection project is closely linked to that of the Parent Infant Interaction Program, of which Redirec-

tion had been a part. For the past few years, PIIP has been funded by a combination of Danforth Foundation grants and the State of Missouri's desegregation funds. According to a metropolitan desegregation plan enacted in 1983, the state is required to match other funds raised for special services in non-integrated schools. Through 1985, the Danforth Foundation's grants were the basis of that match for PIIP, operated in Vashon High School.

Because Danforth, like other foundations, does not provide long-term operating funds for projects -- and because the state desegregation monies are slated to end in a few years -- the survival of PIIP ultimately depends on an allocation of resources from the city's school budget. The first such commitment from the school district was received in the spring of 1985 for the 1985-86 school year -- $86,000 for PIIP and Project Redirection -- and it thereby leveraged the same amount from the desegregation fund.

All school budget allocations are for one year only. Therefore, PIIP must work to solidify its support of the city's school board in the coming years, and convince the board to fund the program fully after the special state desegregation monies are terminated.

B. Privately-Based Institutionalization

1. Cleveland

Cleveland's progress toward institutionalization has been aided by a fundamental shift in the mission and organizational structure of the YWCA, the Redirection sponsor. Beginning in 1983, under the leadership of a newly hired executive director, the YWCA's focus moved away from recreational and "social adjustment" services toward those aimed at enhancing social development and economic power of women, particularly minority women

and teens. Organizationally, the YWCA has adopted a more centralized administrative structure to coordinate program planning.

Since part of the YWCA's new focus is defined as services to teen mothers, Project Redirection is one of the instruments of fulfilling it. Thus, beginning in 1986, the program is to be supported by regular operating funds of the YWCA, which are normally supplied by the United Way.

When the United Way allocates funds to an organization, it distributes them across categories reflecting its own hierarchy of goals. Project Redirection activities fall into several of the United Way's top priority areas, including "social services to unwed mothers," "social services to residents and families," "family life education" and "job development." Thus, the United Way allocation process and the prominence of Project Redirection in the mission of the YWCA virtually ensure that the program will have long-term support in Cleveland.

The YWCA also plans to pursue other sources of funding for Redirection services and hopes to expand the program to several of its branches. Its new system of coordinated planning will facilitate that expansion. However, until United Way monies are received in January 1986, the Cleveland Foundation has agreed to extend its funding for Project Redirection, giving the program stability for the rest of the year and time to plan for expansion.

2. Atlanta

Like its Cleveland counterpart, the Atlanta YWCA has as its central mission the "empowerment of women," and it, too, views Project Redirection as playing a central role in that mission. Progress toward institutionalization has been more limited, however, partly as a result of

the site's late entry into the demonstration. Ultimately, Atlanta's goal is, like Cleveland's, to use regular United Way allocations to support the dominant share of the Project Redirection budget, but this is not viewed as a realistic option for the near future. Instead, the agency is seeking support from the United Way's New and Expanded Services Fund, a separate source of discretionary money designated for special projects.

Because those funds would cover only about two-thirds of Project Redirection's projected budget, additional resources are being sought elsewhere. As of this writing, the future funding of Project Redirection remains uncertain.

3. Brooklyn

Owing in large part to a recent program reorganization and a shift in the sponsoring agency from High School Redirection to the New York City Urban League, progress toward institutionalization has been limited at the Brooklyn site. Eventually, this goal could be achieved if the Urban League begins to allocate core funds to Project Redirection, although it is not expected that such funds would ever fully support the program. As is the case in other League activities, a combination of public and private monies specifically designated for Project Redirection would have to supplement core resources. Nonetheless, a League allocation, possibly to pay the salary of a central Redirection staff person, would mark the project as an established League activity.

Currently, Project Redirection, which remains housed at High School Redirection, is working to stabilize its operations, and continues to be supported primarily through short-term foundation grants.

C. Public/Private Institutionalization

1. Greenville

In the foreseeable future, Project Redirection in Greenville will depend on continued receipt of JTPA funds. With a new grant of $86,000, this has been accomplished for fiscal year 1985-86. The program also relies heavily on its sponsoring agency, MACE, which helps to support Project Redirection by absorbing the salary of the program director and donating space, accounting and other overhead services.

Continued support from MACE is contingent on JTPA or other funding. JTPA allocations, in turn, depend on the program's ability to meet performance standards agreed to in a contract with the local Private Industry Council, which approves the disbursement of JTPA funds by the Governor's Office of Job Development and Training. These performance criteria include a 38 percent placement rate into unsubsidized jobs as part of an overall 80 percent "positive termination" rate, which can also be met by the teens' development of employability competencies.

III. Factors Affecting Institutionalization Outcomes

As the preceding sections have suggested, institutionalizing programs can be a lengthy process. As expected, in none of the sites was the process really completed by the end of the demonstration. Nevertheless, observations of site experiences up to this point suggest a number of insights about potential barriers to institutionalization and possible strategies for overcoming them. This section considers these issues.

A. Potential Barriers

1. Philosophical Concerns

One of the chief obstacles to obtaining long-term financial support for social service programs is competition with other programs for limited resources. In the words of a recent study of teen parent programs in 10 communities (Weatherley et al., 1985):

> Adolescent pregnancy programs, like other social welfare services that depend on public and voluntary resources, require some measure of popular and political support, or at a minimum, tolerance. In an era of limited resources and growing service needs, adolescent pregnancy programs must compete with a host of equally worthy claimants -- services to combat hunger, homelessness, child abuse, mental retardation, infectious disease, and so forth.

The competition is more severe in the case of teen parent programs because of the sensitivity of the issues of adolescent sexuality and parenthood. The Weatherley study continues:

> As an issue vying for attention and support, adolescent pregnancy confronts unique and severe obstacles. Despite, or perhaps because of, the permissive attitudes toward sexuality that emerged in the 1960s, a powerful stigma is attached by many adults to adolescent sexuality, pregnancy and parenthood. This stigma extends to services designed to prevent pregnancy or to assist teenage parents and their children. Except for the service providers, the issue lacks a vocal constituency to lobby for resources.

Philosophical concerns were encountered in several sites, especially those depending on public resources for institutionalization. In St. Louis, for example, a staff member explained that opposition from some school system administrators and school board members was an earlier constraint in building support for the PIIP program:

> Some of the school board members are opposed to programs like PIIP, which they think may be suggesting to teens that "it's okay to get pregnant, we will take care of you." Others believe that the school system should be involved in this

> problem, and should integrate PIIP into the school program, so that teens will not have to drop out and will not become dependent on welfare.

Concerns about PIIP's and Redirection's appropriateness in a regular public high school were aggravated by the fiscal problems of the St. Louis school system, and a belief that taxpayers' dollars might be better spent on academic instruction and textbooks. Reflecting this perspective (which later changed) one administrator commented:

> The first priority of the school system is instruction. Project Redirection and PIIP are beyond that first priority. So their future depends on dollars.

In El Paso, Project Redirection and the Schoolage Parent Center experienced similar resistance from some middle-level school system administrators. Compounding this was a negative attitude among some residents in the community toward family planning programs. At an earlier time, for example, a boycott against the United Way, organized by a local Roman Catholic bishop, was held to protest the organization's contributions to Planned Parenthood. However, as will be discussed later, such sentiments were decisively outweighed by strong support for Project Redirection and the Schoolage Parent Center from influential community leaders.

2. Incongruent Goals

A second difficulty was the need to convince potential funders that the fit between their goals and Redirection's was sufficiently close to merit suport. Comprehensive programs like Project Redirection have the potential to serve the interests of funding agencies with widely divergent objectives. Nevertheless, while staff may succeed in identifying a congruence of interests, it may not be obvious -- or strong enough -- from the perspective of funding agencies, particularly those with little prior

involvement with teen parent programs. In Cleveland, for example, a proposal to the local JTPA agency for support of Project Redirection's employability component was turned down because the program was not viewed as oriented toward job placement. Even in Greenville, where major funding was in fact provided by JTPA, initial opposition was encountered from the Local Planning and Private Industry Councils, which must approve such requests. As a representative from the Governor's Office of Job Development and Training explained:

> The council tends to be hostile toward any program that is not specifically an occupational program, such as welding or clerical training for those who can and will get a job. As employers, they feel they should go for a more job-ready and likely-to-be employed group. They're not interested in the pregnant teen population.

These experiences raise the more general question of the potential of teen parent programs to secure funding from the JTPA system. While Greenville's experiences suggest that this can be done, it is not an easy task. Not only are these programs not viewed as training agencies, the young age of many of their clients and the many steps that need to be taken to overcome educational deficits make the prospects for employment seem distant. Consequently, the flexibility of the "youth competency criteria," which are set by the JTPA administrative agencies as alternatives to job placement in defining successful program performance, will influence the access that teen parent programs have to JTPA funds.

3. Short-Term Funding Patterns

A further constraint on institutionalizing programs like Project Redirection is the reluctance of most private foundations to provide organizations with ongoing operational support. Typically, like the

community foundations involved in the Redirection demonstration, they prefer to fund innovative pilot programs in the hope that, if they are judged worthwhile, they will be adopted and expanded with public or other private resources.

Of course, even most public funding commitments are not guaranteed to continue year after year. As with the JTPA funds in Greenville and the school board resources in St. Louis, allocations must be sought annually and energies expended in that effort. Long-term funding is probably most secure under circumstances such as those in Cleveland, where regular allocations from United Way are likely to endure as long as the YWCA maintains its positive reputation and the United Way its commitment to current priorities.

B. Strategies for Building Support

1. Defining Program Goals

The obvious congruence of goals that existed between Cleveland's YWCA and the United Way, and between El Paso's program and the consortium of state agencies seeking to launch a new project, was fundamental to the continuation and expansion of these Redirection programs. In some cases, however, a program's goals cannot be left to "speak for themselves," but must be deliberately cast and presented in a way that highlights the program's suitability for the funder.

Greenville is an excellent case in point. As just discussed, the site had managed to secure funding for the demonstration in part by adapting its own model to JTPA requirements. Despite this, during the demonstration period, Greenville did not manage to meet the criteria incorporated into its JTPA contract. Still, staff were able to obtain funding past the

demonstration period. This came about in large part because staff argued to JTPA funders that their interest in improving the employability of local citizens was being met through Project Redirection's component focusing on employment-related activities. They also urged that the Local Planning Council and the PIC view Redirection's accomplishments in the context of the disadvantaged nature of its target population and Greenville's generally poor economic conditions. As a result, the JTPA group consented to continue funding for Redirection, at least during the next year. Thus, the program's advocates had, in this case, been able to successfully define their mission, showing that it did meet local JTPA interests and even broadened JTPA's reach to an eligible population not previously well served.

In the school-based sites such as St. Louis -- where the issue of accommodating pregnant and parenting teenagers is a sensitive one -- it has been important to emphasize how the program can help the school system fulfill its responsibilities for educating all young people. In Redirection's case, the staff has highlighted the importance of meeting the special needs of young parents and preparing them for adulthood.

A proposal to the St. Louis school board for school district funding of PIIP and Project Redirection exemplifies this line of reasoning. The proposal's opening paragraphs focus on the urgency of obtaining school support for "exemplary" teen parent programs. Pointing out that schools must serve students with a host of socioeconomic problems, the proposal cites a recent Rand Corporation report on The Response of Schools to Teenage Pregnancy and Parenthood and continues:

> The report clearly reinforces the need for schools to take a

> leadership role in defining policy and supporting exemplary programs targeted at meeting the complex needs of this special population.

This general approach typifies those used by other teen parent projects. For example, in the communities Weatherley and his colleagues studied, they observed:

> Service advocates and providers...sought to mute the opposition by meeting their concerns, either by modifying aspects of the services that the potential opposition might find offensive, or by appearing to do so. They also sought to tie adolescent pregnancy to other less stigmatized issues, like the reduction of infant mortality, child abuse, and mental retardation. Wherever possible, they dramatized the need for such services and sought to demonstrate their relative cost-effectiveness (1985, p. 179).

Comprehensive programs such as Project Redirection can legitimately claim they serve a broad set of goals; the variety of activities covered by the different components allows these programs to appeal for support by stressing a diversity of objectives. The challenge is to articulate clearly the link between any one or combination of those goals and the interests of the potential funding agencies.

2. The Role of Program Advocates

Generating an ongoing commitment of resources for a program to address an important social problem depends on more than simply how the program's rationale is defined. Where resources are scarce and are sought by competing claimants, success in institutionalizing a program can depend on securing the help of effective advocates. Project Redirection sites owe a great deal of their own progress to the role taken by influential citizens and local decision-makers. Certain people and groups helped to make the Redirection program visible in the community and attempted to convince funders to support the approach.

a. Collaboration With Community Foundation Representatives. In several sites, representatives from the community foundations and the state involved in the demonstration assisted Redirection staff members and their sponsoring organizations to pursue post-demonstration funding from other sources. In some cases, this was limited to advice and guidance on when and how to proceed; in other cases, involvement was more direct.

Representatives from the demonstration's funding agencies were most active in El Paso, St. Louis and Greenville, performing numerous functions on behalf of the programs. In El Paso and St. Louis, they greatly enhanced the project's reputation in the local community. Throughout the demonstration, the executive director of the El Paso Foundation presented the program to corporate and private funders and public agencies at every possible opportunity. As she put it:

> I explain the program's goals and the foundation's involvement with the project. I tell them that the foundation is not able to fund programs on an ongoing basis and that we're looking for a permanent home for the project.

In St. Louis, the representative of the Danforth Foundation described her role in the following way:

> I've been pushing for institutionalization from the beginning -- trying to get the school board to pick up the PIIP program. I meet with the school board members, the superintendent and key administrators to make sure they know what's going on. Many of these people would not otherwise know about the project. So I serve as an educator to build support. I try to create an awareness and interest to increase the commitment.

In Greenville, representatives from the Governor's Office of Job Development and Training willingly testified before the Local Planning Council and PIC in support of the program's request for JTPA funding.

All of these representatives aided the cause of institutionalization

not simply by their deeds, but by lending their own reputations -- and those of their organizations -- to the project. By putting their prestige "on the line," they attempted to enhance the credibility of the project and its goals.

b. The Use of Advisory Boards. Several sites attempted to further the goal of institutionalization by organizing advisory boards that included a broad range of community representatives. The most well-developed system was El Paso's, where the advisory board included such key officials as the director of the El Paso City/County Health Department, the executive director of the El Paso YWCA, a regional director of the Texas Department of Human Services, the principal of the Schoolage Parent Center and the executive director of the El Paso Foundation.

This group met regularly throughout the demonstration period to consider various strategies and options, and played a key role in making Project Redirection known to and sought by the state administrators who initiated the new state-sponsored demonstration. The advisory board even assumed responsibility for preparing the proposal submitted to the state panel on behalf of Project Redirection.

## IV. The Importance of Bridge Funding

This chapter has shown that the route to institutionalization is a long and complicated one, and that some of the sites in the second Redirection demonstration have moved further toward this goal than others. Potentially, the length of this process can be a discouraging and disruptive element, taking staff time that would otherwise go to the program and its participants. Furthermore, demonstrations have defined end-points. If

future funding is not in place when their monies expire, the program may have to be discontinued or severely scaled back, perhaps weakening in the process the eventual prospects for support.

In the current demonstration, several of the sites were able to avoid this because of the willingness of their community foundations to provide short-term "bridge funding" to support operations while longer-term funding commitments were pursued. The Cleveland Foundation's agreement to support Redirection for an additional year while waiting for United Way resources has allowed the program to continue and to begin formulating expansion plans. Without that assistance, the program would have to retrench.

Similarly, in Brooklyn, the New York Community Trust is continuing its funding to allow the program to stabilize under the auspices of the Urban League and to begin seeking alternative support. Bridge funding highlights another critical role that community foundations can play in shaping the outcome of the institutionalization process.

# CHAPTER 6

## CONCLUSIONS

The preceding chapters have examined the service delivery and institutionalization experiences of seven teen parent programs using key elements of the Project Redirection model. This chapter considers some of the lessons from these efforts.

### I. Comparisons to the First Demonstration

Generally, the sites in the second demonstration were successful in adapting Project Redirection to new circumstances and in strengthening various components of the program. However, as discussed below, certain aspects of the program proved difficult to improve.

One question in the second demonstration was whether the discontinuation of a financial incentive would make it harder for staff to interest teens in the program. It did not appear to. The new sites were able to recruit a sufficient number of teens and, in several cases, exceeded their expected slot capacity. The lack of a stipend also did not seem to affect the teens' level of involvement in program activities.

The newer sites were also able to recruit enough community women to pair with the teens; their stipend was continued, but it was probably not necessary for recruitment purposes. Indeed, many women volunteered before they were even aware that a stipend existed. Over half of the community women remained involved with the program for longer than one year.

The newer sites, however, did not retain teens as long as the original

sites, although the reasons why are not obvious. A statistical analysis found that differences between the two groups of teens in observed background characteristics at the time of enrollment -- in factors such as school, pregnancy or welfare status -- were not the prime cause. The lack of a monetary incentive was also probably not important since Cleveland, which did pay a stipend, kept teens no longer than the other sites.

In the area of service delivery, the newer sites were able to substantially increase the amount of time teens spent in family planning, parenting, nutrition and other life management classes and workshops. In addition, the sites enriched the employability component so that it offered services at a level well above that found in all of the original sites except Phoenix, which had developed intensive employment training. Most of the improvement in the second demonstration, however, could be found in the school-based sites; in the agency programs, the intensity of service receipt was closer to the level observed in the first demonstration.

In both the school-based and community agency sites, getting teens to regularly attend all of the activities scheduled for them was a persistent problem, just as it had been in the first demonstration. The main reasons for lower-than-anticipated attendance rates were generally similar for both demonstrations: the logistical difficulties posed by transportation problems, and the extra demands that motherhood placed on the schedules and free time of teens. Motivational problems were also an important factor.

## II. Advantages and Disadvantages of Alternative Settings

The inclusion of school-based sites and a rural community agency, as well as two urban projects similar to those in the first demonstration,

makes it possible to consider some of the implications of serving teen mothers in alternative situations. Each setting has its own operational advantages and/or drawbacks.

Perhaps the major advantage of school-based programs was the more frequent scheduling of life management and employability services that, in these settings, were incorporated into regular classes. Because most teens attended these classes as part of their normal school day, the opportunity for receiving services was greatly enhanced. In contrast, the community agency sites could only offer the in-school teens activities on weekends or after school, and teens had to make special plans and find the time to attend them. Travel could be a problem in some sites, as could child care, and the teens often ended up taking their babies with them.

However, while the delivery of services is easier in the school-based sites, these sites may experience attendance and service delivery problems if they wish to serve students from other schools. The same factors impeding attendance in the community agency sites would apply to life management and employability activities scheduled to be held after regular school hours. (A particular problem is that school regulations typically restrict the buildings' use in the evenings, on weekends and during the summer.) Thus, agency sites have more flexibility when the target population extends beyond the immediate school.

Community agencies have another advantage in that they are more likely to be able to attract out-of-school teens. Dropouts, a group usually alientated from the school system and one particularly difficult to involve in services, may be very hesitant to join a program operated by and offered in a school. The Redirection school-based sites, in fact, did enroll a

small proportion of dropouts but, on the whole, they targeted their programs to teens enrolled in their own schools. It is not certain that they could have attracted as many dropouts as the community agencies even if they had tried.

The experience of the Greenville program suggests some insights about the delivery of comprehensive services in a rural setting. Perhaps the key lesson is that the Redirection concept is feasible, but because of the limited number of existing services, a brokerage approach is less suitable. In rural areas, a greater emphasis must be given to the direct provision of services, delivered on-site by regular program staff. The Greenville site's GED program is a good illustration. Without that component, taught by a certified teacher on the Redirection staff, it is unlikely that teens would have been able to find any alternative educational services.

III. Community Women in School Settings

The school-based sites that became involved in Project Redirection were most interested in the program's community woman component. The concept was viewed as a means of providing marginal students with extra support -- primarily outside the school -- to help them complete their education. Because this role was performed by volunteers, it was a way for the schools to enhance their services at a modest extra cost.

At the outset of the demonstration, it could not be assumed that this component would be feasible for schools to operate. For example, it could have been difficult to recruit volunteers willing to work with the schools and to coordinate and monitor activities taking place outside of the schools. A clear lesson from this demonstration, however, is that the

component is a viable option for school-based programs. At the sites studied here, administrators and school staff both found it to be a worthwhile addition to their complement of services and one that was not especially burdensome to operate. Even in Albuquerque, where school funds were cut back, efforts were being made to continue the component on a smaller scale. Albuquerque staff believed that it made an important difference in the lives of some teens.

Albuquerque's experience raises a related issue: Can the community woman component be run by regular guidance counselors rather than a separate program coordinator? While this shift was not attempted during the demonstration, school administrators considered doing so and weighed the pros and cons of the approach. One advantage might be closer communication between the counseling staff -- who are directly responsible for helping teens deal with their personal problems -- and the community women, who interact with teens outside of the school setting. Because community women are more likely to witness first-hand some of the circumstances that affect teens' lives, their contact with the counselors may enhance the school's ability to assist the teens.

However, an important question is whether counselors would have sufficient time to recruit and monitor community women and still perform their other duties. A risk is that the community woman component would become a low priority.

## IV. Institutionalization and the Partnership with Community Foundations

By the end of the demonstration, the prospects for ongoing funding were generally positive, although considerably better at some sites than at

others. Three were successful in obtaining substantial public funds for the coming year (and, in one case, for several years). For most sites, progress in securing stable government support remains an important goal in order to ensure longer-term continuation of the project.

The second demonstration offered an opportunity to assess the value of a venture in which sites and community foundations -- and in Mississippi, a state agency -- worked together to secure longer-term funding. The collaboration proved to be a useful one. While the community foundations themselves could not offer the funding, they assisted the sites in pursuing support in several ways. In some sites, representatives from the foundations or agency took an active role, trying to enhance the visibility of the project and presenting its case before potential funders. In a few sites, these organizations provided short-term post-demonstration funding, allowing the sites to complete their efforts to secure stable funding without, in the process, upsetting the current operations of the program.

An additional strategy at some sites was to organize advisory boards to assist the projects in obtaining long-term support. The value of such an entity, particularly when it includes representatives from other important organizations, lies in its potential to lend greater credibility to the program and to the mission the program hopes to accomplish.

Each of the sites in the second demonstration began with the goal of continuing the program with ongoing funding after the conclusion of the demonstration. While the positive short-term outcomes from the original demonstrations were not sustained after teens left the program, this did not alter the newer sites' goal; rather, these findings highlighted the importance of trying different ways to serve disadvantaged teen parents

more effectively. As the newer sites pursued institutionalization, they also attempted ways to strengthen their interventions. Most importantly, their efforts reflected an ongoing commitment to serving a group of adolescents that were clearly in need of assistance. The precise content of those services can be expected to evolve over time.

# APPENDIX A

## SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES

TABLE A.1

SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF TEENS
AT TIME OF ENROLLMENT IN PROJECT REDIRECTION,
BY DEMONSTRATION AND TYPE OF PROGRAM SPONSOR

| Characteristic | Second Demonstration | | | First Demonstration |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | School-Based Sites | Community Agencies | All Sites | All Sites |
| Age (%) | | | | |
| 11 Years Old | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.1 |
| 12 Years Old | 0.7 | 0.0 | 0.4 | 0.5 |
| 13 Years Old | 1.4 | 1.9 | 1.6 | 1.7 |
| 14 Years Old | 4.8 | 5.2 | 5.4 | 8.0 |
| 15 Years Old | 15.4 | 18.7 | 15.9 | 21.3 |
| 16 Years Old | 35.2 | 33.5 | 34.5 | 32.5 |
| 17 Years Old | 35.5 | 35.4 | 35.8 | 35.0 |
| Over 17 Years Old | 7.1 | 5.3 | 6.4 | 0.0 |
| Mean Age (Years) | 16.7 | 16.8 | 16.7 | 16.4 |
| Ethnicity (%) | | | | |
| Black | 55.7 | 96.2 | 72.6 | 43.5 |
| Chicana | 30.6 | 0.0 | 17.6 | 23.7 |
| Puerto Rican | 1.4 | 0.0 | 0.8 | 18.0 |
| Other Hispanic | 0.7 | 0.0 | 0.4 | 3.0 |
| White | 9.3 | 3.8 | 7.0 | 11.1 |
| American Indian/Other | 2.4 | 0.0 | 1.4 | 1.7 |
| Limited English (%) | 15.0 | 1.4 | 8.4 | 9.8 |
| Marital Status (%) | | | | |
| Never Married | 90.8 | 98.7 | 93.2 | 93.9 |
| Ever Married | 9.2 | 3.3 | 6.8 | 6.1 |
| Head of Household (%) | 3.9 | 5.9 | 4.8 | 7.9 |
| Mean Number of Household | 5.2 | 5.3 | 5.3 | 5.0 |
| Living in Two-Parent Household (%) | 23.2 | 12.0 | 18.3 | 14.5 |
| Mother Present in Household (%) | 70.3 | 77.4 | 73.3 | 84.5 |
| Father Present in Household (%) | 28.8 | 15.4 | 22.9 | 16.2 |
| Pregnancy Status (%) | | | | |
| Pregnant With 1st Child | 34.8 | 34.8 | 34.8 | 56.3 |
| Pregnant Parent | 4.1 | 4.8 | 4.2 | 4.4 |
| Parent, Not Pregnant | 61.3 | 61.1 | 61.2 | 39.3 |

(continued)

TABLE A.1 (continued)

| Characteristic | Second Demonstration | | | First Demonstration |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | School-Based Sites | Community Agencies | All Sites | All Sites |
| Number of Children (%)[a] | | | | |
| 1 Child | 90.8 | 83.8 | 87.8 | 82.0 |
| 2 Children | 9.4 | 14.0 | 11.2 | 6.9 |
| 3 Children | 0.0 | 2.2 | 0.8 | 0.9 |
| 4 Children | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.3 |
| Receiving AFDC (%) | 48.8 | 85.4 | 58.3 | 71.6 |
| Not in School at Time of Enrollment (%) | 10.2 | 37.3 | 21.5 | 38.1 |
| Left School Prior to Pregnancy (%)[b] | 20.0 | 18.2 | 19.4 | 49.8 |
| Mean Number of Months Out of School[b] | 10.7 | 10.1 | 10.3 | 13.4 |
| Highest Grade Completed (%) | | | | |
| 8th Grade or Less | 30.7 | 33.1 | 31.8 | 36.2 |
| 9th | 31.2 | 25.0 | 28.5 | 28.8 |
| 10th | 26.0 | 28.8 | 27.2 | 23.7 |
| 11th | 12.0 | 13.0 | 12.4 | 10.6 |
| 12th[c] | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.7 |
| Mean Highest Grade Completed | 9.0 | 9.0 | 9.0 | 9.0 |
| Received Services Prior to Redirection (%) | | | | |
| Employment Services | 23.8 | 8.8 | 15.5 | 2.9 |
| Family Planning Services | 53.8 | 43.7 | 49.8 | 21.9 |
| Prenatal Care[d] | 88.5 | 82.7 | 86.1 | 85.8 |
| Pediatric Care[e] | 88.0 | 84.2 | 78.8 | 87.1 |
| Received Child Care Services (%)[a] | | | | |
| Licensed Day Care Center | 40.8 | 0.7 | 24.2 | 8.4 |
| Licensed Home Center | 2.1 | 2.2 | 2.1 | 1.1 |
| Relative-Out of Teens' Home | 10.5 | 18.1 | 14.1 | 11.1 |
| Relative-In Teen's Home | 80.4 | 81.0 | 43.1 | 41.4 |
| Other - In Home | 4.2 | 4.4 | 4.8 | 17.4 |
| Other - Out of Home | 12.8 | 10.8 | 11.8 | 4.8 |
| Any Child Care | 87.4 | 87.1 | 87.2 | 82.6 |
| Enrolled in Adolescent Mother Program (%) | | | | |
| Ever Enrolled | 84.8 | 23.8 | 41.8 | 18.1 |
| Never Enrolled | 45.1 | 76.4 | 58.1 | 81.8 |
| Total Number Enrolled | 283 | 208 | 502 | 805 |



(continued)

TABLE A.1 (Continued)

SOURCE: MDRC calculations from Participant Enrollment Forms in the Project Redirection Information System.

NOTES: Sample for the second demonstration includes all teens enrolled through April 30, 1985. Sample for the first demonstration includes all teens enrolled through December 31, 1982.

Distributions may not add exactly to 100.0 percent because of rounding.

[a]Based on teens who were parents at the time of enrollment.

[b]Based on teens who were not in school at the time of enrollment.

[c]Includes teens who completed the 12th grade but failed to meet additional requirements for a high school diploma, such as achievement tests and physical education courses.

[d]Based on teens who were pregnant at the time of enrollment.

[e]Based on teens who had any children at the time of enrollment.

TABLE A.2

SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF COMMUNITY WOMEN AT TIME OF ENROLLMENT IN PROJECT REDIRECTION, BY DEMONSTRATION AND TYPE OF PROGRAM SPONSOR

| Characteristic | Second Demonstration | | | First Demonstration |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | School-Based Sites | Community Agencies | All Sites | All Sites |
| Age (%) | | | | |
| 24 Years or Less | 13.2 | 9.8 | 11.7 | 15.8 |
| 25 - 34 Years | 41.8 | 51.8 | 46.4 | 45.8 |
| 35 - 44 Years | 28.7 | 28.5 | 28.0 | 22.7 |
| 45 - 59 Years | 13.2 | 8.8 | 10.1 | 14.8 |
| 60 Years or More | 2.8 | 2.7 | 2.8 | 2.0 |
| Mean Age (Years) | 35.5 | 33.8 | 34.8 | 34.4 |
| Ethnicity (%) | | | | |
| White | 41.8 | 8.5 | 24.2 | 27.8 |
| Black | 35.8 | 83.9 | 62.8 | 37.9 |
| Chicana | 17.5 | 0.0 | 8.5 | 18.7 |
| Other Hispanic | 2.8 | 2.8 | 8.2 | 14.8 |
| American Indian/Other | 1.5 | 0.0 | 0.8 | 1.0 |
| Marital Status (%) | | | | |
| Never Married | 17.5 | 29.8 | 23.0 | 13.8 |
| Married, Spouse Present | 56.2 | 38.5 | 47.2 | 49.8 |
| Married, Spouse Absent | 8.0 | 8.8 | 8.7 | 18.8 |
| Widowed/Divorced | 18.2 | 24.8 | 21.0 | 20.2 |
| Head of Household (%) | 38.0 | 81.7 | 48.8 | 50.7 |
| Living With Own Children (%) | | | | |
| Under 6 Years | 32.1 | 35.7 | 33.7 | 42.8 |
| Between 6 and 12 Years | 35.0 | 28.7 | 32.1 | 43.8 |
| Between 13 and 18 Years | 24.8 | 20.0 | 22.6 | 31.5 |
| Older Than 18 Years | 15.8 | 8.7 | 12.8 | 12.8 |
| Receiving AFDC (%) | 8.8 | 8.8 | 8.8 | 27.1 |
| Highest Grade Completed (%) | | | | |
| 8th Grade or Less | 5.1 | 1.8 | 3.8 | 7.4 |
| 10th - 11th Grade | 5.1 | 8.8 | 7.2 | 8.4 |
| 12th Grade | 41.8 | 44.7 | 43.0 | 42.4 |
| More Than 12th Grade[a] | 48.2 | 43.8 | 46.2 | 40.8 |

(continued)

TABLE A.2 (continued)

| Characteristic | Second Demonstration | | | First Demonstration |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | School-Based Sites | Community Agencies | All Sites | All Sites |
| Mean Grade Completed | 10.5 | 10.8 | 10.7 | 10.7 |
| Highest Degree Obtained (%) | | | | |
| None | 8.0 | 6.2 | 7.2 | 13.3 |
| High School Diploma | 41.8 | 35.4 | 84.8 | 88.8 |
| General Equivalency Diploma | 8.8 | 8.1 | 8.4 | 12.3 |
| Associate | 8.8 | 7.8 | 5.8 | 11.8 |
| Bachelor's | 25.5 | 38.5 | 31.8 | 14.3 |
| Vocational/Trade | 8.0 | 4.4 | 8.4 | 7.4 |
| Master's/Doctorate | 8.8 | 10.5 | 8.4 | 1.0 |
| Current Employment Status(%) | | | | |
| Employed, Full-Time | 43.8 | 48.2 | 44.0 | 17.2 |
| Employed, Part-Time | 14.8 | 25.7 | 18.8 | 11.3 |
| Not Employed | 41.8 | 30.1 | 35.4 | 71.4 |
| Involved in Community Activities (%)[b] | | | | |
| Church Groups | 48.0 | 38.8 | 58.7 | 48.8 |
| Schools | 40.1 | 48.7 | 44.0 | 35.0 |
| Politics | 18.2 | 20.8 | 18.4 | 10.8 |
| Social Organizations | 18.2 | 32.2 | 24.8 | 14.8 |
| Charities | 25.8 | 28.7 | 27.4 | 18.2 |
| Other | 17.5 | 20.8 | 18.0 | 15.3 |
| Total Number Enrolled | 137 | 116 | 253 | 203 |

SOURCE: MDRC calculations from Community Women Enrollment Forms in the Project Redirection Information System.

NOTES: Sample for the second demonstration includes all community women enrolled through April 30, 1985. Sample for the first demonstration includes all community women who enrolled through January 31, 1983.

Distributions may not add exactly to 100.0 percent because of rounding.

[a]This category includes college and vocational training ever taking place after completion of high school.

[b]Women could give more than one response.

## FOOTNOTES

## FOOTNOTES

### CHAPTER 1

1. Data on this population's use of public assistance can be found in Block, H. 1981; Burt and Moore, 1982; and New York State Temporary Commission to Revise the Social Services Law, 1983.

2. For more information, see Polit et al., 1985 and Riccio and Quint, 1985

3. For ease of presentation, the term "community foundation" is used in this report to refer both to foundations that are locally-based and to the small group of foundations with a national focus.

### CHAPTER 2

1. The sites entered the demonstration on a staggered basis, starting with Cleveland in May 1983. The last site to join was Atlanta, in January 1984. Because of these different starting dates, the amount of follow-up data varies across the sites.

2. It should be noted that the New Futures School in Albuquerque recruits a substantial number of dropouts for its regular school programs. In 1984-85, dropouts accounted for 45 percent of the incoming students. Some of these teens joined Project Redirection but were not counted as dropouts on the Redirection Enrollment Form because of their prior enrollment in the New Futures School.

3. Later analyses of MIS data on teens' activities in Project Redirection focus only on the sample of teens who had any IPP worksheets. This was done to exclude teens who never became active in the program. Most teens who were never active simply did not return to the program after their intake session, and the program did not have a realistic opportunity to work with them.

### CHAPTER 3

1. This sample represents 74 percent of all enrollees through April 30, 1985, and 84 percent of all enrollees who had any IPP worksheets.

2. A comparison of the background characteristics of earlier and

later enrollees suggested no important differences.

3. At the same time, the extent of nonparticipation suggests that many teens who met the eligibility criteria of the prog may not have been able or willing to comply with its demands.

4. For comparability with the sample used in the second demonstration, the sample for the first demonstration includes teens who enrolled in Project Redirection from January 1 through August 31, 1982 who had any IPP worksheets. This allowed teens a minimum of four months in which to begin receiving services before data tabulation for this analysis ended. It should be noted that the results on the original demonstration included here may vary from those in the final implementation report (Branch et al., 1984) because more complete data were available for the current analysis.

5. Because few teens remained beyond the 11-month point, this follow-up period minimizes the extent to which days of participation is undercounted simply because of the scheduled end-date of data collection. The resulting sample for this analysis represents 55 percent of all teens who enrolled in the second demonstration through April 1985 and who had any IPP worksheets. A comparison of the background characteristics of these two groups revealed no important differences.

6. See Section V of this chapter for a discussion of participants' length of stay in the program.

7. Data for this analysis of the first demonstration were available through March 31, 1983 in all but the Boston site, where data collection ended in December 1982. Thus, a minimum of nine months of follow-up data was available in three of the original sites and six months in Boston. However, because 38 percent of the teens in the original sites remained in the program for more than nine months, the average number of times they participated in the program activities may be somewhat underestimated by these data. Alternative analyses were conducted on an earlier sample of enrollees, which allowed a longer period of follow-up. However, this reduced both the sample size and the amount of activity. The January-June 1982 sample produced the least amount of undercounting. It was not possible to include teens who enrolled prior to January 1982 in this analysis because data on the number of times each teen attended an activity were not collected for that group.

8. These appeared to be the most important differences between the two groups that are likely to be related to educational performance. See Chapter 2 of this report for a full comparison of teens' background characteristics.

9. Data on educational completion, subsequent pregnancies and termination from the second demonstration were available through the end of June 1985.

10. The sample used for this analysis included all teens who ever enrolled in either the first or second demonstration and had any IPP worksheets. Data cover the period of program operations through June 1985 for the second demonstration, through December 1982 for the Boston site in the first demonstration and through March 1983 for the remaining original sites. The background characteristics controlled for in this analysis were: age, ethnicity, pregnancy status, school status, highest grade completed, and whether or not teens were living in two-parent households, or came from families receiving AFDC.

11. The background variables controlled in the multiple regression equation were age, ethnicity, pregnancy status, highest grade completed, school status, and whether or not teens lived in two-parent households or came from families receiving AFDC. The difference between the school-based sites and the original sites was statistically significant at the 1 percent level after controlling these variables.

12. This analysis used the same sample and control variables as were used in the analysis of school completion. (See Footnote 10.)

13. This difference is statistically significant at the 1 percent level, based on a multiple regression analysis. The same sample and control variables were used as in the analysis of average days in school. (See Section II.A.)

14. This estimate for the original sites is lower than that reported in Polit et al., 1985, which found an average length of stay of 11.6 months. The lower estimate reported here may reflect some truncation due to the end of MIS data while a number of teens were still in the program. Another factor may be Polit's use of a different sample of participants and self-reported information from teens.

15. The difference between the new and original sites in teens' length of stay was significant at the 1 percent level after controlling the following background characteristics: age, ethnicity, pregnancy status, highest grade completed, school status, and whether or not teens lived in two-parent households or came from families receiving AFDC.

16. At all sites, the costs of operating the program include in-kind contributions from the sponsoring agency (such as staff time and office space). These are typically difficult to estimate with precision. Another limitation is that the

extra expenditures required for collecting MIS data, which were used primarily for research purposes, were not excluded from the analysis. These costs would probably be less during an ongoing program, since less data would probably be collected.

17. These estimates are based on expenditures incurred during a six-month period at each site, generally covering the late summer of 1984 through early 1985. This approach eliminates the start-up period of operations, during which costs may be unrepresentative of a program's ongoing expenditures.

## CHAPTER 4

1. It is important to keep in mind that, as in Chapter 3, different samples were used for these analyses. Calculations of the proportion of teens who ever received employability services is based on teens with any IPP worksheets who enrolled in the second demonstration by December 31, 1984, allowing a minimum of four months of follow-up. This sample was also used for the computation of attendance rates. For computing the average hours in these activities, an earlier sample of enrollees was used: all teens with any IPP worksheets who entered the program by May 31, 1984. For this group, a minimum of 11 months of follow-up was available.

2. The sample for the original sites includes all teens with any IPP worksheets who enrolled in Project Redirection between January 1 and August 31, 1982. The data covers teens' activities through December 31, 1982.

3. The sample for the original sites includes all teens with any IPP worksheets who enrolled in Project Redirection between January 1 and June 1, 1982. Data tabulation for this analysis ended in December 1982 in the Boston site and in March 1983 in the remaining three sites. See Chapter 3 for further discussion of the reasons for selection this sample. It is important to emphasize that, as with other activities, the amount of time spent in employment-related activities may be somewhat underestimated for the original sites.

4. This difference is statistically significant at the 1 percent level, based on a two-tailed t-test. Moreover, the difference in adjusted means is significant when using a multiple regression analysis that controls for the following background characteristics of teens: age, ethnicity, pregnancy status, school status, highest grade completed, and whether or not teens lived in two-parent households, or were from families receiving AFDC.

5. Although this summer program contained aspects of both work experience and direct employment, the site categorized it as the latter.

6. The sample for this analysis includes all teens enrolled in the second demonstration who had any IPP worksheets. The data cover jobs obtained through June 30, 1985.

7. The sample used for the first demonstration includes all teens with any IPP worksheets. The data cover employment through December 31, 1982 for the Boston site, and through March 31, 1983 for the remaining three sites.

8. This rate in Albuquerque includes the subsidized work experience positions described earlier.

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